

LEO XIII.

AT THE BAR OF HISTORY

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LEO XIII AT THE BAR OF HISTORY.

A DISCUSSION OF THE PAPAL PLAN
FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY.

BY

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*"We have a Dictator before whom we must prostrate ourselves,
and be silent, and bow our heads. This Dictator is History."*

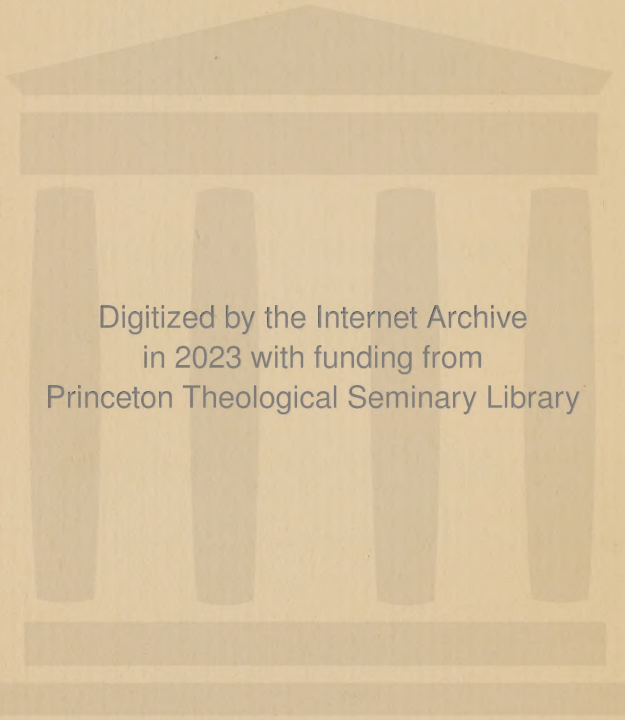
BISHOP STROSSMAYER.

Ἡ μία καὶ μόνη ἀληθῶς Κεφαλὴ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς—S. BASIL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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P R E F A C E .

SUMMONED by the kindly voice of Leo XIII to restore the unity of the Church by submission to the sovereign spiritual authority of the Roman Pontiff, and invited to make this submission in the name of Holy Scripture and of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, we answer by citing the Holy Father himself to appear at the Bar of History and justify the tremendous claim which he makes upon our consciences.

This little volume is a candid attempt to exhibit in a brief space the verdict of History ("which is neither [Roman] Catholic nor Anglican") upon all the essential points of doctrine and of jurisdiction contained in the Encyclical of Pope Leo on Christian Unity.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

FEAST OF THE ANNUNCIATION, 1897.

I.

THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

THE reunion of Christendom is a consummation devoutly to be wished and prayed for, and for which Christian men and Christian churches ought to be prepared to make great concessions—to sacrifice everything but truth itself. But, as the Bishop of Edinburgh says in a recent charge to the Synod of Edinburgh (1895), it ought to be considered that “unity in external communion without unity in fundamental truth would be, even if it could be obtained, a curse and not a blessing.” Any proposition, therefore, looking to the reunion of the Anglican Church with the Church of Rome, as preparatory to the further and larger step of a complete reunion of Christendom, must deal first with the problem of unity in fundamental truth between these two great Communions. And when their respective doctrinal positions are examined it becomes at once apparent that they are so fundamentally at variance that without radical and far-reaching change on one side or the other reunion is impossible.

I invite attention to the language of the learned prelate just referred to upon this subject: “Day by day,” he says, “we offer up the supplication . . . ‘that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of

truth'—that *first*, and *then*, possessing the *truth*, 'may hold the faith in *Unity of Spirit*, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.' What has been forgotten, or at least in practice minimized, on the side of those Anglicans to whom I have referred, is the paramount claim of Truth. What the Church of Rome holds to be truth, she never for one moment will compromise or explain away. As each new dogma has been added to her creed, it secures a place co-ordinate in certainty and authority for her own children with the doctrines that seem to us most clearly revealed in Holy Scripture. She teaches no doctrine that might be recalled, revised, modified, or explained away. For the purposes of diplomatic negotiations with other religious communities, she suffers from the very considerable *inconvenience of infallibility*. If two parties differ, and one is, *ex hypothesi*, always right on the fundamental points in dispute, it is plain that there can be but one issue to any successful effort at making up the difference. Union with Rome means simply acceptance of her Creed and submission to her authority. What some of us venture to call her 'errors,' are with her immutable and irreformable expressions of Divine Truth, having all the authority of God Himself. It comes then simply to this: Can we surrender the principles for which the Anglican Church has steadily contended for the last three hundred and fifty years? Or can we hold the doctrines of our Church, and, with a due regard for the ordinary and natural rules by which historical documents are interpreted, can we reconcile the sense of

our historical and authoritative standards of doctrine with the authoritative doctrine of the Church of Rome? The only answer to each question is,—*It is impossible.*”

There could not be a better illustration of the truth of these remarks of Dr. Dowden than is found in the Encyclical of Leo XIII, on Christian Unity, issued in the early summer of 1896, to which the following “Letter” was a reply. This Pontiff has been widely extolled (and no doubt justly) for his enlightened liberality, and for the breadth of his sympathies, as well as for his sanctity. Yet when he undertakes to discuss Christian Unity, he holds a tone as uncompromising, as unbending, as absolute as Hildebrand himself. Underneath all his gracious and paternal phrases, there lurks unabated the imperial temper of the Popes of the Middle Ages. He offers not a single concession. He makes not a single advance. He abates not a jot or tittle of the claims of his predecessors. He has one short and simple solution of the problem presented by Christian Unity,—Let the whole Christian world—all churches, communions, sects, make their submission to the Roman Pontiff. Only an absolute surrender to Rome can heal the divisions of Christendom. Two things, the Encyclical declares, are indispensably necessary. First, we must accept every article of faith, and point of doctrine, which has been authoritatively proclaimed and established by the Roman Church; and, second, we must accept the jurisdiction, the supremacy, the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff.

Let us ask, then, What does the Roman Church require us to believe? It would lead us too far to reply to this question exhaustively. It will be enough to note that besides the three Creeds accepted by the Church of England, she requires us to accept (1) the Creed of Pius IV set forth A. D. 1564; (2) the definitions of the Œcumenical Councils; (3) all *ex cathedra* doctrinal definitions of the Popes in all the ages, *e. g.*, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin promulgated in the year 1854 by Pius IX. Now let us suppose that we could accept all the doctrines and articles of faith pertaining to the Christian Religion, just enumerated, it would avail us nothing unless we also submitted to the jurisdiction and supremacy of the Bishop of Rome.* “Schism” from the Pope, Leo tells us, places us “outside the One Fold.” “Bishops are deprived of the right and power of ruling if they deliberately secede from Peter and his successors.” “The Episcopate order is rightly judged to be in communion with Peter, as Christ commanded, if it is subject to and obeys Peter; otherwise it necessarily becomes a lawless and disorderly crowd.” It is not enough that the head of the Church “should have been charged merely with the office of superintendent, or should have been invested solely with the power of direction, but *it is absolutely necessary that*

* “The very nature of divine faith makes it impossible that we can reject even one point of direct teaching (by the authoritative magisterium of the Church), as this is practically rejecting the authority of God Himself.”—Encyclical on Christian Unity.

he should have received real and sovereign authority which the whole community is bound to obey."* I italicize these last words in order to call attention to the distinct assertion which they make that absolute power is vested in the Pope. Innocent III himself could not have more distinctly formulated the theory of an absolute ecclesiastical despotism lodged in the hands of the Roman Pontiffs. Pope Boniface VIII asserted no more when he declared officially (in his Bull *Unam Sanctam*), "We declare, assert, and define, that for every human creature it is altogether necessary to salvation that he be subject to the Roman Pontiff."† Did Pope Gregory VII do more than draw out a corollary from the same fundamental proposition when he affirmed that "When men proudly refuse to obey the Apostolic Chair (of Peter) they incur the guilt of idolatry," ("cum enim obedire apostolicæ sedi superbe contemnunt, scelus idolatriæ . . . incurrunt")? And did not Bellarmin build on the same foundation when he made the amazing and blasphemous assertion that "if the Pope should err by enjoining vices and prohibiting virtues, the Church would be bound to believe vices to be good, and

*The Encyclical.

† The French novelist who has lately given the world a truly remarkable picture of modern Rome, was justified, it would appear, in putting the following words into the mouth of Pope Leo XIII: "Ah ! le Schisme, ah ! le Schisme, mon fils, c'est le crime sans pardon, c'est l'assassinat du vrai Dieu, la bête de tentation immonde, suscitée par l'Enfer, pour la perte des fidèles."

virtues to be bad, unless she would sin against conscience"?*

In making these strictures upon the real purport of the Encyclical, we do not wish or intend to impeach the sincerity of the venerable Pontiff, or to question or doubt his genuine zeal for the reunion of Christendom. Rather would we draw attention to the inexorable logic of the iron system which the Papacy incarnates. The gentleness and charity and sympathy and zeal of Leo XIII only serve as a foil to the sharp two-edged sword which as Pope he is compelled to wield. The man, good and kind and liberal-minded as he is, is helplessly in the grip of the absolutism of which he is the official representative.

Here, however, is the feature of the Encyclical which deserves especial note, and which called forth the Letter of reply which follows. His Holiness undertakes to reason with "the peoples of the Christian World," and to set before them somewhat at length the grounds in Scripture and the ancient Fathers upon which the proud edifice of Roman Ecclesiastical Imperialism professes to rear itself. Thus the document refers the great matters at issue to the arbitrament of Holy Scripture and Primitive Antiquity, and, in effect, invites all who dissent from Rome to exercise their private judgment in seeking a true conclusion. The present writer felt that the Encyclical thus constituted a

* "Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare."

challenge, which could not properly be declined, to meet the illustrious apologist of the Papal system upon ground which we as Anglicans have ever claimed as our own.

The following publication has for its object the justification of the assertions made in my open Letter of Reply to Pope Leo XIII, published in the *Washington Post* of July 27th, 1896, especially by giving the passages from the Fathers alluded to therein.

I have quoted freely from the Encyclical of the "Holy Catholic and Apostolical Orthodox Church of the East" in reply to a previous Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Reunion, of November 30th, 1894, in order to draw attention to the important and impressive fact that on all the great questions at issue between the Anglican Communion and the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, with its one hundred millions of adherents, stands with us. As to Purgatory, the Immaculate Conception, Mariolatry, Denial of the Cup to the Laity, the Primacy of Peter, the ancient Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, the claims of Papal Authority, of Temporal Power, of Infallibility, she agrees with us. She interprets the Fathers, and the decrees and Canons of the Ancient Councils just as we do, upon all these points. She finds the Roman system made up of innovations,—modern, not ancient; provincial, not catholic,—built not upon the Holy Scriptures, not upon the ancient Fathers, not upon the ancient Councils, but upon perversions and usurpations, upon spurious Patristic passages, upon the False Clementines, upon the forged Decretals of

Isidore, upon the unauthentic Apostolical Constitutions. This is her language: "The orthodox Church of Christ is ever ready to receive every proposal of reunion, if only the Bishop of Rome shakes off, once and for all time, the many and divers innovations which, contrary to the Gospel, have been stealthily introduced into the Church, and have caused the grievous division of the churches of the East and the West; and if only he returns to the ground of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, which were held under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the representatives of all the Churches of God, in order to define the right teaching of faith, as against those that tended to heresy."

II.

POPE LEO'S ENCYCLICAL ON CHRISTIAN UNITY.

On the 29th of June, 1896, the following report of the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII was given to the press :

BALTIMORE, MD., *June 29.*

Cardinal Gibbons has received from Rome advance sheets of Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the union of the Christian churches. It is addressed to all Bishops in communion with the Holy See, and is in part as follows:

“The Holy Father, intent upon the work of bringing all to the one fold of Christ, considers that it would conduce to the end were he to set before the peoples of the Christian world the ideal and exemplar of the church as divinely constituted, to which church all are bound by God's command to belong.

“In accordance with His usual providence, God makes use of human instruments to effect the sanctification and salvation of men. To this end not only did He take upon Himself human nature, but in order to perpetuate His mission the Son of God chose apostles and disciples, whom He had trained, that they might faithfully hand down His teaching and commands to those who desired the blessing He had purchased for mankind by His death.

“In commanding the apostles and their successors to the end of time to teach and rule the nations He ordered the nations to accept and obey their authority.

“In Scripture, the church is called a body, and the body of Christ. It is visible as being a living and organized society, and is animated by the invisible vital principle of supernatural life. Those, therefore, who either deny that Christ's church is a visible body or refuse to allow that it has ‘the perennial communication of the gifts of divine grace, are equally in a grievous and pernicious error.’ The ‘connection and union of both elements is absolutely necessary to the true

church as the intimate union of the soul and body is to human nature,' and as this is the essential constitution of the church according to God's will, who also determined that it was to last to the end of time, this it must possess at the present day.

THE MISSION OF CHRIST.

"It is obviously of the first importance to determine what Christ wished His church to be, and what in fact He made it. According to this criterion, it is the unity of the Christian church which must necessarily be considered, for it is certain that when 'He founded it He wished it to be one.' The mission of Christ was to save not some nations or peoples only, but the whole human race, without distinction of time or place. Hence, as the mission of His church was to hand down through every age the blessing of this salvation by the will of its founder, it is necessary that this church should be one in all lands and at all times.

"A church which should embrace all men everywhere and at all times was clearly foretold by the prophet Isaiah, and was typified as our Lord's mystical body—a body united to Himself as head; a mystical body, the members of which, if separated one from the other, 'cannot be united with one and the same head.' And so another head like to Christ—that is, another Christ—must be invented if besides the one church, which is His body, men wish to set up another.

"Furthermore, 'He who made this one church also gave it unity—that is, He made it such that all who so belong to it must be united by the closest bonds, so as to form one society, one kingdom, one body.' And he willed that this unity among his followers should be so perfect 'that it might in some measure shadow forth the union between Himself and His father.'

UNITY OF FAITH ESSENTIAL.

"As a necessary consequence 'in His divine wisdom He ordained in His church unity of faith—a virtue which is the first of those bonds which unite man to God and whence we receive the name of the faithful.' The nature of this unity of faith must and can be ascertained from the commands and teaching of Christ Himself. The mere possession of the Scriptures is not sufficient to insure unity of belief,

'not merely because of the nature of the doctrine itself and the mysteries it involves but also because of the divergent tendencies of the human mind and the disturbing element of conflicting passions.'

"It was necessary 'that there should be another principle' to insure union of minds in the Christian Church, and it is consequently proper to inquire which of the many means by which Christ, our Lord, could have secured this unity He, in fact, adopted. It is the duty of all followers of Christ, not merely to accept His doctrine generally, 'but to assent with their entire mind to all and every point of it, since it is unlawful to withhold faith from God even in regard to one single point.'

"Christ endowed His apostles with authority like to His own, and promised that the spirit of truth should direct them and remain with them forever, and because of this commission it is no more allowable to repudiate one iota of the apostles' teaching than to reject any point of the doctrine of Christ Himself. This apostolic mission was intended for the salvation of the whole human race, and consequently must last to the end of time.

AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

"The magisterium instituted by Christ in His church was by God's will perpetuated in the successors appointed by the apostles, and in like manner the duty of accepting and professing all that is thus taught is also perpetual and immutable. There is nothing which the church founded on these principles has been more careful to guard than the integrity of the faith. The fathers of the church are unanimous in considering as outside the Catholic communion any one who in the least degree deviates from even one point of the doctrine proposed by the authoritative magisterium of the church.

"Wherefore Christ instituted in the church a living, authoritative and lasting magisterium. He willed and commanded under the gravest penalties that its teachings should be received as if they were His own. As often, therefore, as it is declared on the authority of this teaching that this or that is contained in the deposit of divine revelation, it must be believed by every one as true. The very nature of divine faith makes it impossible that we can reject even one point of direct teaching, as this is practically rejecting the authority of God Himself.

“ Christ commanded ‘ all men present and future to follow Him as their leader and Saviour, and thus not merely as individuals, but as forming a society, organized and united in mind. He established in the church all those principles which necessarily tend to make organized human societies and through which they attain the perfection proper to each.’ That is, in the church founded by Christ, ‘ all who wished to be the sons of God by adoption might attain to the perfection demanded by their high calling and might obtain salvation.’

“ The church is ‘ man’s guide to whatever pertains to heaven. This is the office appointed to it by God that it may watch over and may order all that concerns religion, and may, without let or hindrance, exercise, according to its judgment, its charge over Christianity. Wherefore they who pretend that the church has any wish to interfere in civil matters, or to infringe upon the rights of the state, either know it not or wickedly calumniate it.’

CHRIST’S VICEGERENT ON EARTH.

“ Besides being the guardian of the faith, the church must afford the means of obtaining the salvation purchased by Christ. The dispensation of the divine ministries was not granted by God indiscriminately to all Christians, but to the apostles and their successors, and in this way, according to God’s providence, a duly constituted society ‘ was formed out of the divided multitudes of people, one in faith, one in end, one in the participation of the means adapted to the attainment of the end, and one as subject to one and the same authority.’

“ As ‘ no true and perfect human society can be conceived which is not governed by some supreme authority,’ so Christ, of necessity, gave to His church a supreme authority to which all Christians must be obedient. For the preservation of unity, there must be unity of government *jure divino*, and men may be placed outside the one fold by schism as well as by heresy.

“ The nature of this supreme authority can be ascertained from the positive and evident will of Christ in the matter. As He willed that His kingdom should be visible, Christ was obliged to designate a vicegerent on earth in the person of St. Peter. He also determined that the authority given him for the salvation of mankind in perpetuity should be inherited by St. Peter’s successors.

"It cannot be doubted from the words of Holy Writ that the church, by the will of God, rests on St. Peter, as a building on its foundation. St. Peter could not fulfill this duty without the power of commanding, forbidding, judging, which is properly called 'jurisdiction.' It is by the power of jurisdiction that nations and commonwealths are held together—a primacy of honor, and the shadowy right of giving advice and admonition, which is called direction, could never give unity or strength to any society of men.

ST. PETER'S POWER SUPREME.

"The metaphorical expressions of the 'keys' and of 'binding and loosing' indicate 'the power of making laws, of judging and of punishing—a power which our Lord declares to be of such amplitude and force that God would ratify whatever is decreed by it.' Thus the power of St. Peter is supreme, and absolutely independent, so that having no other power upon earth as its superior it embraces the whole church and all things committed to the church.

"As this governing authority belongs to the constitution and formation of the church as the very principle of unity and stability, it was clearly intended to pass to St. Peter's successors from one to another. Consequently, the pontiffs who succeed him in the Roman Episcopate receive the supreme power in the church *jure divino*, and this is declared fully by general councils, and is acknowledged by the consent of antiquity.

"But though the authority of St. Peter and his successors is plenary and supreme, it is not to be regarded as the only authority.

"The Bishops, who are the successors of the apostles, inherit their ordinary power, and the 'Episcopal order necessarily belongs to the essential constitution of the church.' They are consequently not to be regarded as mere vicars of the Roman pontiffs, since 'they exercise a power which is really their own, and are most truly called the ordinary pastors of the people over whom they rule.'

EPISCOPAL RIGHTS LOST BY SECESSION.

"For the preservation of unity in the Christian Church, it is above all things necessary that there should be union between the Roman pontiff, the one successor to St. Peter, and the Bishops, the many

successors of the apostolic college. 'It is necessary to bear in mind that no prerogative was confessed in the apostles in which St. Peter did not participate, but that many were bestowed upon St. Peter apart from the apostles.' He alone was designated by Christ as the foundation of His church. To him He gave the power of forgiving and retaining, and to him alone was given the authority to feed. From this it follows 'that Bishops are deprived of the right and power of ruling if they deliberately secede from Peter and his successors, because by this secession they are separated from the foundation on which the whole edifice rested.'

"As the divine founder of the church decreed that His church should be one in faith, in government, and communion, so He chose Peter and his successors as the principal, and, as it were, the center of this unity.

"The episcopate order is rightly judged to be in communion with Peter, as Christ commanded, if it is subject to and obeys Peter; otherwise it necessarily becomes a lawless and disorderly crowd. For the due preservation of unity of the faith, it is not sufficient 'that the head should have been charged merely with the office of superintendent or should have been invested solely with the power of direction, but it is absolutely necessary that he should have received real and sovereign authority which the whole community is bound to obey.'

AUTHORITY OF BISHOPS LIMITED.

"It is opposed to the truth, and is in evident contradiction with the divine constitution of the church to hold that while a Bishop is individually bound to obey the authority of the Roman pontiffs, the Bishops, taken collectively, are not so bound. For it is the nature and essence of a foundation to support the unity of the whole edifice and to give stability to it rather than that of each component part. It was through the strength and solidity of the foundation that Christ promised that the gates of hell should not prevail against His church—a promise to be understood of the church as a whole, and not of any certain portions of it.

"Moreover, he who is set over the whole flock must have authority not only over the sheep dispersed throughout the church, but also when they are assembled together. Do all the sheep gathered together rule and guide the shepherd? Do the successors of the

apostles assembled together constitute the foundation on which the successor of St. Peter rests in order to derive therefrom strength and stability ?

“ The Popes have ever unquestionably exercised the office of ratifying or rejecting the decrees of councils. Leo the Great rescinded the acts of Conciliabulum of Ephesus. Damasus rejected those of Rimini, and Adrian I those of Constantinople. The twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon, by the very fact that it lacks the assent and approval of the apostolic see, is admitted by all to be worthless.

“ Holy writ attests that the keys of the kingdom of heaven were given to Peter alone, and that the promise of binding and loosing was granted to the apostles and to Peter, but there is nothing to show that the apostles received supreme power without Peter or against Peter. Such power they certainly did not receive from Jesus Christ. Wherefore, in the decree of the Vatican council as to the nature and authority of the primacy of the Roman pontiff, no newly conceived opinion is set forth, but the venerable and constant belief of all ages.”

III.

AN OPEN LETTER TO HIS HOLINESS LEO XIII.

To His Holiness, Pope LEO XIII:

REVERED PONTIFF : Inasmuch as your recent encyclical on Christian unity, although formally addressed only "to the Bishops in communion with the Holy See," does, in fact, make argument and appeal "to the peoples of the Christian world," it will not, I trust, appear improper or presumptuous if I, being only an humble and obscure priest in the Church of God, venture to lay before your holiness some of the difficulties which are widely felt in acceding to the proposal and plan you have been pleased to set forth in order to effectuate Christian unity.

The fact that I am of the Anglican communion, and therefore a Protestant, makes it not less, but more, becoming that I should make respectful reply, since it is especially on behalf of the Protestant peoples that your holiness has been at the pains to prepare this encyclical with a view to "bringing all to the one fold of Christ." It would, indeed, appear churlish and discourteous if, when one occupying so exalted a station as the pontiff of the most numerous church on earth had condescended to reason with the great communions of Christians who are not of his flock upon so momentous a theme as Christian

unity, there should be no reason publicly given for not embracing his overtures. Such explanation is due to the gracious act of the illustrious pontiff—still more due to ourselves and to the public in the face of a proposition of such grave importance.

Before attempting to state the difficulties which unhappily appear to inexorably forbid the cordial acceptance of the plan which your holiness proposes to heal the wounds in the body of Christ—if I may be allowed to speak as if we, too, did actually belong to His body—let me express my profound and unfeigned thanks that the momentous issues involved in this great contention are by your holiness referred to the arbitrament of reason. In reasoning with us you invite us to exercise our reason. In outlining for our consideration the grounds upon which the enormous claims of the Roman See are based, you invite us to weigh the evidence, to scrutinize the authorities cited; in short, to exercise our private judgment upon the tremendous issue whether or not the Roman Church is the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, and whether in that Church the supreme power is lodged in the pontiff. For this recognition of the function of reason and the right and duty of private judgment we, as Protestants, are profoundly grateful. We understand, of course, that you confine the exercise of this right to the scrutiny of credentials of the Roman Church and of the authority and infallibility of her pontiff, and that once convinced that she is the one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, and

that her pontiffs are supreme and infallible, then the exercise of reason and private judgment is, in your view, at an end, and we must accept, without question or doubt, whatever is defined or decided by the Holy See. Or, to state it in the clear and unambiguous language of the encyclical, "as often as it is declared, on the authority of this teaching, that this or that is contained in the deposit of the divine revelation, it must be believed by every one as true." This, I repeat, we clearly understand, but we gratefully recognize the liberty which you concede us to submit the credentials of the Church and of the pontiff to the bar of reason, untrammelled by authority, and summoning Scripture and history as witnesses in determining the issue.

But let me proceed, without further preface, to state some of the difficulties we find in the way of accepting the proposals of the encyclical.

(1) The first concerns "the integrity of the faith," which your holiness urges upon our consideration as a matter of vital importance. Our difficulty is that "the faith" as presented for our acceptance by the Roman Church, is in various points different from, and contradictory to, "the faith" as contained in the Holy Scriptures and professed by the ancient fathers of the Catholic Church. Yet the encyclical assures us that "the apostles and disciples" were commissioned by Christ to "faithfully hand down His teaching," and invites us to test the claims of the Church and its doctrines by the Scriptures and the ancient fathers. We are thus placed in a dilemma. We must either repu-

diate these doctrines of the faith of the Roman Church, as contrary to the Scripture and the ancient fathers of the Church, or in accepting the former we must repudiate the latter, and in so doing set ourselves against the decree of the Holy Council of Trent, which declared the Scriptures to be the inspired and infallible Word of God.

In illustration of my meaning I will mention but one out of many doctrines that are open to the difficulty just alleged. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which was proclaimed by your revered predecessor, Pius IX, in the year 1854, and has since been an article of the Roman faith, binding on all her children, is one which we cannot discover any hint of in the Bible, which is not alluded to in any of the ancient creeds, and which is explicitly or implicitly denied by several of the greatest of the fathers, as St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and by the greatest of Roman Catholic divines, St. Thomas Aquinas, as well as by several of the Popes themselves. In the light of this fact, how could we accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and at the same time profess the creed of Pope Pius IV (which as good Catholics we would be required to do), since it binds us never "to take or interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers"?

Your holiness will surely sympathize with the difficulty which is raised by these two contradictory requirements.

(2) Another very serious difficulty which rises up in the way of our accepting the terms of Christian unity proposed

by the encyclical, relates to the privilege of Peter and the alleged transmission of the same to his alleged successors—the Roman pontiffs. It is declared that “it cannot be doubted from the words of Holy Writ that the Church, by the will of God, rests on St. Peter as a building on the foundation.” But where in Holy Writ is there any such statement? When our Lord said, “On this rock I will build my Church,” can we possibly believe that He referred to St. Peter in the face of the fact that in the Old Testament the title of Rock is reserved to God, the Father, and in the New Testament to Christ Himself? To do so would be to contradict the solemn declaration of the holy apostle, St. Paul. “Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.” Should we not, then, rather interpret as St. Chrysostom does, and as many other ancient fathers do, “On this rock I will build my Church, that is, on the faith of his confession,” viz., “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.” To build on that faith is to build on Christ. Again, the encyclical alleges that “many prerogatives were bestowed upon St. Peter, apart from the apostles,” and among these is mentioned “the power of forgiving and retaining.” But with the greatest deference, may we venture to point out to your holiness, that this power of “forgiving and retaining” was bestowed upon all the apostles indiscriminately? (See St. John xx.) And further, may we respectfully invite attention to the extraordinary fact that there is not a jot or tittle of evidence in the entire New Testament that St. Peter ever

pretended to, or ever exercised, the supreme powers and prerogatives which it is claimed were conferred upon him.

If St. Peter was the vicegerent of Christ, why did St. Paul presume to rebuke him, as he tells us he did? (Gal. ii. 11.) If he was supreme over the rest of the apostles why did not he, rather than St. James, preside in the first general council? (Acts xv.) And why did not he pronounce and promulgate the sentence of the council? Again, if St. Peter was the head ruler of the Church, why was he restricted to the apostleship of the circumcision—that is, of the Jews? (Gal. ii. 7, 8.) And why did St. Paul assume to teach and direct the Church in Rome itself? Why, too, does St. Paul claim equality with “the very chiefest of the apostles”? And then why does not St. Peter, in his epistles, make any allusion whatever to his possessing or exercising supreme authority in the Church? But is not the question closed by our blessed Lord’s words, in which He forbade any distinction of rank among His apostles? (Luke xxii. 24–26.)

Exercising our private judgment, then, as your holiness invites us to do on the question of the primacy and supremacy of St. Peter over the Church, we are compelled to conclude that, so far as Holy Scripture is concerned, the doctrine you lay down seems to be destitute of any foundation, and to be, moreover, completely contradictory to the actual facts of the ecclesiastical government of the Church, as reflected in the New Testament.

It is true that our Lord used words to St. Peter that he

used to none other of His apostles.* They were, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." But this promise was abundantly fulfilled in the fact that to St. Peter, brave and devoted leader that he was, was given the great and enviable privilege of first opening the doors of the Christian Church to the Jews on the day of Pentecost, and to the Gentiles in the case of Cornelius and his friends at a later period.

We observe that such a privilege was not in the nature of things transmissible to his successors; nor is there a syllable in the New Testament that indicates that whatever peculiar powers and privileges may have been his, he was to transmit them to those who succeeded him. Thus a great and insurmountable objection lies in the way of our submitting to the Roman pontiff as the alleged successor of St. Peter. If we open our Bibles, as your holiness invites us to do, we find that there is no foundation in their pages for the claims set up either for St. Peter or his successors. Doubtless we will be told that we do not rightly interpret the Holy Scriptures upon this point of the privilege of Peter and his successors. But, though we are ready to acknowledge our fallibility as interpreters of Holy Writ, observe, we pray, the embarrassment of our position. The creed of Pope Pius IV, as above remarked, binds all good Roman Catholics "never to interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers." But when we turn to the writings of the fathers we do not find that they gave their "unanimous consent

* See, however, this fact explained below, pp. 55 *seq.*

to the interpretation of Holy Writ propounded by your holiness in the encyclical upon this question. Far, indeed, from it. We find that the early fathers generally assert the equality of all bishops. In particular, St. Cyprian declares that "the other apostles were, indeed, that which Peter was, endowed with equal consortship of honor and power," St. Chrysostom that St. Paul was "equal in honor" with St. Peter, St. Cyril that St. Peter and St. John were "equal in honor to one another." St. Jerome, Dionysius, and Isidore affirm the same. As regards our Lord's words to blessed Peter, there appears great difference among the ancient fathers as to their interpretation, and the weight of opinion is by no means with that given by your holiness. Indeed, the great divines of the Roman Church, the schoolmen and the canonists do not agree in their exposition. That great and good Pope, Gregory the Great, differs from your holiness and agrees with St. Chrysostom. Here are his words: "*Invera fide persistite, et vitam vestram in petra ecclesiae, hoc est in confessione B. Petri Apostolorum principis, solidate.*"* If, then, we are so unfortunate as not to be able to see in that famous passage (St. Matt. xvi) the proof that our Lord has built His Church "on Peter, as a building on its foundation," we derive consolation from finding ourselves in agreement with one of the best and most illustrious of the Popes, the great Gregory.

As regards the power of the keys, alleged by your holiness as given to St. Peter alone, we cannot find here either

* Ep. Lib. iv. 38, p. 718.

“unanimous consent” on the part of the ancient fathers. St. Augustine holds this power to be identical with the power of “binding and loosing sins,” which was undoubtedly given to all the apostles (John xx.) Whatever its origin, St. Jerome, Theophylact, and St. Chrysostom (not to name others) affirm that all the apostles received the same power.

As regards the commission to “feed” Christ’s sheep, which the encyclical declares was given to Peter alone, there is no “unanimous consent” of the fathers upon this interpretation. Thus St. Cyril interprets them as a renewal of the former grant of apostleship, forfeited by his denial of the Lord. And St. Augustine, “When it is said to Peter, it is said to all, feed my sheep.” In the same sense teach St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and St. Chrysostom. How great and insuperable then is the difficulty of accepting the proposal for unity which your holiness puts forth in this encyclical! You call upon us to acknowledge the absolute supremacy of the Roman pontiff over our faith, over our consciences, over our conduct. Whatever doctrine he may from time to time declare “is contained in the deposit of revelation, it must be believed by every one as true.” Whatever he may disallow must be refused, though all the bishops in the whole world agree in ordaining it. Whatever may be the accuracy and orthodoxy of our faith—though we should hold every doctrine, great and small, fully and heartily—we shall be nevertheless “placed outside the one fold,” unless we submit to the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

In support of so tremendous a claim, so boundless an authority, you refer us to Holy Scripture and to the ancient fathers. Accordingly, we reverently open the sacred volume, remembering blessed Peter's solemn caution against "wresting the Scriptures" to our "perdition." But we can find no support, but the contrary, in the volume of inspiration, for the awful powers and prerogatives which the Roman pontiffs claim. We are, therefore, shut up to the dilemma, from which we find no escape, either to reject these claims, on pain of the anathema of the Holy See, or to accept them against reason, against Scripture, against history, and on pain of blessed Peter's anathema upon those who "wrest the Scriptures" to "their own perdition." Should any of us, however, drawn by desire to be at unity with your holiness and the great communion, of which you are the head, incline to take the awful risk of surrendering our reason and our faith to the dominion of the Holy See contrary to the plain sense of Holy Scripture, we should find ourselves forsworn before God, because, when we should have declared, "Neither will I ever take or interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers" (creed of Pius IV), we should have actually submitted to an interpretation of the Scriptures which has no claim whatever to be supported by the "unanimous consent of the fathers."

But if we refuse to place ourselves in such a position, and choose, rather, to listen to the voice of Holy Scripture, as we understand it, and as so many of the best and holiest

of the fathers have understood it, and so reject the proposals of the encyclical, believing that unity would be too dearly purchased at the cost of the approval of our own consciences and the stultification of our reason, and the extinguishment of the light of history, we may at least reflect that in so doing we are at one with that good man, Pope Gregory the Great. Here are his words, addressed to the Bishop of Constantinople: "What wilt thou say to Christ the Head of the Universal Church, in the trial of the last judgment, who, by the appellation of 'Universal' (Bishop), dost endeavor to subject all His members to thee? Whom, I pray, dost thou mean to imitate in so perverse a word, but him who, despising the legions of angels constituted in fellowship with him, did endeavor to break forth unto the top of singularity, that he might both be subject to none, and alone be over all?" And again St. Gregory says: "I confidently say that whoever doth call himself universal bishop, or desireth to be so called, doth, in his elation, fore-run Antichrist, because he proudly doth set himself before the rest."

We cannot but ask, What would Pope Gregory the Great have said to the titles now assumed by his successors, such as "the vicegerent of God," "the vicar of Christ on earth," whose "teachings should be received as if they were His own," and whom the whole episcopate must be "subject to" on pain of being considered "a lawless and disorderly crowd"?

3. Several other difficulties there are which I have only space to mention without enlarging upon. Why is it that, if this tremendous power was by Christ lodged with St. Peter and his successors, it was not so plainly and clearly stated that there could be no question about His meaning among honest Christians? Why did not the apostles declare it and expound it, being a doctrine second to none in importance? Why did not St. Peter himself allude to it in his epistles? Why is it not embodied in the Catholic creeds of the church? Why is it not explained or alluded to in any of the decrees of the general councils of the church? Why do none of the great doctors and divines of the church, in all their extensive and elaborate treatises on divinity and on the faith of the church, explain and defend it? Why did not the Popes, if they possessed these sovereign powers, not summon one of the six general councils of the church? Why did some of those councils ignore or decree contrary to the wishes of the Pope? Why was the papal authority never synodically defined until the Lateran Synod in the year 1215? Why was his infallibility, (a doctrine of such overshadowing importance,) never defined and promulgated until the Vatican Council of 1870? And why was there so much uncertainty on the subject prior to that council that a popular controversial catechism, approved and sanctioned by Bishops and an Archbishop, even taught that it was "a Protestant invention" to say that Catholics must believe the infallibility of the Pope?

4. But even these difficulties are not all. Could they be each one removed out of the way we should still remain in the greatest perplexity upon several points.

For example: We should have accepted the Roman pontiff as supreme, sovereign, and infallible, and yet we could not deny that various Popes have shown themselves anything but infallible in matters of faith. History would still testify that Pope Liberius denied the divinity of Christ and anathematized St. Athanasius, the champion of orthodoxy; that Pope Honorius was condemned by a general council as a heretic, and was proclaimed by Pope Leo II to be under the sentence of "eternal condemnation;" that Popes John XII, Benedict IX, Gregory VI, and John XXIII were deposed by the church. Our difficulty here is twofold. First, we cannot reconcile these historical facts with the doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, to whom we are bidden to render obedience as the vicerent of God and the vicar of Christ. And, second, we ask ourselves, suppose the next Pope should, like Pope Liberius, deny the divinity of our Lord and assure the flock of Christ that the doctrine of Arianism had been "contained in the deposit of divine revelation," as good Roman Catholics we should be obliged to believe this teaching, but at the same time we should know it to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the ancient creeds, and the teachings of the holy fathers of the primitive church. We find an insuperable difficulty in believing two contradictory propositions, or in comprehending how the

dogma of infallibility is to be applied in the numerous cases in which different Popes have contradicted each other in matters of doctrine.

We may be told, indeed, that our difficulty arises from a misapprehension of the dogma of papal infallibility, and this we will not deny. But we find that the great princes and doctors of the Church, the very Cardinals themselves, do not agree as to its scope and meaning. We observe that those two great Cardinals, Newman and Manning, held quite contrary opinions as to the extent and nature of the papal infallibility. Thus Cardinal Manning declared that the "syllabus of 1864 was part of the supreme and infallible teaching of the Church;" but Cardinal Newman was of opinion that it had "no dogmatic force" and made "no claim to be acknowledged as the word of the Pope." If these great leaders and theologians hold such diametrically opposite opinions on this vital and tremendous doctrine, what hope can plain and unlearned folk have of ascertaining its true meaning? It seemed no doubt to many a great result and achievement to have at last secured absolute certainty of belief by accepting the infallibility of the pontiff. But if, after all, they cannot tell when he speaks with infallibility, or how far his teaching is infallible, how are they profited? Is not certainty as far off as ever? They may have cried "Eureka" as they grasped at last the dogma of infallibility, but after all it seems they have grasped a shadow. They have been like men pursuing the rainbow. The pot of gold may indeed lie at the

rainbow's foot, but the rainbow forever retreats and eludes their grasp.

Deeply regretting that the great cause of Christian unity does not seem to be advanced by the proposals of the encyclical, which are in substance only a summons to surrender at discretion, and praying that the time may come when Rome may use her great power and prestige to draw together the divided members of Christendom on some comprehensive basis of Scripture and antiquity, I am, reverend pontiff, with great respect, yours very truly,

RANDOLPH H. MCKIM,
Rector of the Church of the Epiphany.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 6, 1896.*

IV.

WAS PETER THE ROCK ?

I UNDERTAKE in the following pages to establish the correctness of my statements in the foregoing "Open Letter," and to illustrate them as occasion may require.

Let us begin with the great words of Christ, which are the alleged foundation of the Papacy. It has been asked above, "Should we not rather interpret as St. Chrysostom does, and as many ancient Fathers do, On this Rock I will build my church, that is, on the faith of his confession?"

In justification of this statement, let the following passages be considered :

St. Chrysostom :

1. Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τουτέστι, τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. Hom. LIV, p. 548, A. Paris, 1727.

2. *Επὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, οὐκ εἴπεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ· οὐτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τὴν ξαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ὡκοδόμησε.* Chrys. Tom. V, Or. 163.*

1. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church—that is, the faith of his confession."

2. "Upon this rock, he said not upon Peter: for not on the man but upon his faith in Himself did He build His Church."

3. Contrasting the more perfect faith of Peter with that of Nathaniel, he says :

* Quoted by Bp. Barrow.

Ἄλλ' ὡς ἀπηρτισμένης αὐτῷ
τῆς πίστεως, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ἔφῃσεν ἐπὶ ὁμολογίαν οἰκοδο-
μῆσιν τὴν ἐκείνου. Hom. xxi.
on John i. 50, p. 120, C.

3. "But as if his faith had been made perfect, he said he would build the Church upon his confession."

One of my critics* labors to break the force of this interpretation given by the great Bishop and Orator of Constantinople. He quotes several passages which show this Father's exalted opinion of the position and authority of Peter, as "the mouth of all the apostles, the summit of the whole college," and then he cries out that I have perverted history by a "partial citation."

But not all this can shake the fact which alone I alleged, that St. Chrysostom interpreted the Rock to mean *not* Peter but the confession which Peter made.† In challenging the interpretation given in Pope Leo's encyclical, I quoted St. Chrysostom and St. Gregory the Great as supporting the view that the Church was not built upon Peter as the Rock, but upon Peter's Confession of the Divinity of Christ. No matter, therefore, what the views of these Fathers upon Peter's Primacy, their opinion upon the true interpretation of that famous passage stands. But, after all, what was the view of the golden-mouthed orator of Constantinople upon the Primacy of Peter?

It is true he calls him "the mouth of the apostles," (τὸ

* Father Stafford.

† In placing St. Chrysostom in the category of those Fathers who interpret the Rock as not Peter but Peter's confession, we have the support of the learned Roman Catholic theologian, Rt. Rev. Dr. Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis. (See below.)

στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων,) and again “the coryphæus of the apostles” (τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος). We do not deny that St. Peter was the leader and spokesman of the Apostolic College. That is a very different thing from being the “foundation” of the Church, or its absolute ruler, or its infallible head. My critic, however, alleges the following from St. Chrysostom: “He placed this man Peter over the whole world,” and this again: “He set over it Peter, the doctor of the whole world, to whom he gave the keys of heaven, to whose will and power he trusted all things.”

But this same Chrysostom elsewhere styles *St. John* “the Pillar of the Churches throughout the world” (ὁ στήλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν), and *St. Paul* he calls “the apostle of the world,” (τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἀπόστολος) who “had the care of the whole world,” (ὁλοκλήρου τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων). Again, he contrasts St. Paul with Michael, to whom was committed the care of the Jewish nation, and says, “But Paul was entrusted with the earth and the sea and the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the world,” (Παῦλος δὲ γῆν, καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον.)

If in one place he calls St. Peter “the teacher of the whole world,” (τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλον. Hom. 88 on John, p. 527 B.), in another place he styles St. Paul “the Father of the whole world,” (πατὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης. De Laudib. Pauli. Hom. 3, [II, 490]).

Again, in his Commentary on the Galatians, speaking of St. Paul’s visit to St. Peter after his conversion, he says:

Μηδὲν Ἰετροῦ δεόμενος, μηδὲ
 τῆς ἐξείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότητος
 ὧν ἀτρεῖ · πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔρω
 τέως. Epist. ad Gal. Cap. 1
 [x. 677].

"He asked nothing of Peter,
 nor of his voice, being equal in
 honor with him—for I will not
 now say more," implying his su-
 periority to Peter.

These passages demonstrate that the lofty titles given by this writer to St. Peter were not intended to exalt him to a pinnacle of authority and power over the other apostles, since titles to the full as high sounding are by him conferred upon two other apostles. They also afford, inferentially, a criterion by which we may judge of the value of similar rhetorical exaggerations of expression in the Fathers generally.

St. Augustine :

1. Sermo CCXCV. In Natali
 Apost. p. 1194. Super hanc pe-
 tram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.
 Super hanc petram ædificabo, fi-
 dem quam confiteris. Super hoc
 quod dixisti, *Tu es Christus filius*
Dei vivi, ædificabo ecclesiam
 meam.

1. "Upon this rock will I build
 my church. Upon this rock will
 I build, (that is) the faith which
 thou dost confess: upon this
 which thou hast said, *Thou art*
the Christ, the Son of the Living
God, I will build my church."

2. Again, in his 13th Sermon (not to quote other pas-
 sages), Augustine says :

"Thou art Peter, and on this rock which thou hast confessed—on
 this rock which thou hast known, saying, Thou art Christ, the Son of
 the living God—I will build my Church upon myself, the Son of the
 living God ; *I will build it on Me and not Me on thee.*"

It is true that the great Bishop of Hippo was not always
 consistent with himself in his interpretation of the passage.

He says of himself, writing in his old age, "When I was still a Presbyter, I wrote a book . . . in which I said in a certain place, concerning the apostle Peter, that the Church is founded on him as a rock. . . . But I know that I have afterwards, in very many places, so expounded the Lord's saying, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church,' as to be understood of Him whom Peter confessed. . . . And so Peter, named from this Rock, would typify the person of the Church which is built upon this Rock, . . . but of these two meanings let the reader choose the more probable." Commenting on this the Bishop of Manchester says, "The last word, then, of St. Augustine is this—that the Rock meant either Christ or Peter; and he thinks the matter so unimportant that he leaves it to each reader to select which of the two senses seems to him the more probable. The Rock is Christ or Peter; Peter's Chair it cannot be. The interpretation, if he ever held it, is abandoned."*

A remarkable testimony was given as to this much disputed passage at the Vatican Council of 1870 by no less a prelate than the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Louis, Rt. Rev. Dr. Kenrick, in a speech prepared for, though not delivered in, the Council, but nevertheless published to the world. In it he quotes with approval a treatise which he says had been circulated in the Council, wherein it was shown that there were five distinct interpretations of St.

* See Charge of the Ven. Wm. M. Sinclair, D. D., Archdeacon of London (1896), p. 39.

Matt. xvi: 18 given by the Fathers, and draws two conclusions: *first*, that if we ought to follow the greater number of the Fathers, in the interpretation of this passage, then we are bound to hold it certain that by the Rock we ought to understand not Peter but the Faith professed by Peter; and, *second*, that either no argument at all, or at least no probable argument, can be derived in support of the Primacy of Peter from the words, "Upon this Rock will I build my Church."

I give a part of the Archbishop's speech. It is enough to fully justify my statement that "many other ancient Fathers interpret the Rock to mean not Peter but Peter's confession." It will be observed that this learned writer finds several of the Fathers advocating now one, now another of the five interpretations; also that 44 out of 85 Fathers examined interpret the passage as I have done, among them one of the Popes, Leo the Great, while only seventeen hold that Peter was the Rock; and finally that, since Roman Catholics are bound to accept no interpretation of Scripture that is not supported by the *unanimous consent* of the Fathers, they cannot consistently build the primacy of Peter upon this passage.

Archbishop Kenrick:

"Invenimus quinque diversas interpretationes verbi 'Petra' in loco allato; 'quarum prima asserit,'—verba exscribo, 'super Petrum ædificatam ecclesiam,' quam sequuntur Patres septemdecim et

We find five different interpretations of the word "Petra" in the place quoted "of which the first asserts"—I quote the words, "that the church is built upon Peter," which opinion

inter istos Origenes, Cyprianus, Hieronymus, Hilarius, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Leo Magnus, Augustinus. Secunda interpretatio verba illa; 'super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam' intelligit, Ecclesiam ædificatam esse super omnes apostolos quos Petrus propter Primatum in se representabat. Et hanc sequuntur octo Patres, et inter hos Origines, Cyprianus, Hieronymus, Augustinus, Theodoretus. Tertia interpretatio asserit verba illa: 'Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam' intelligenda esse de fide, quam Confessus erat Petrus, ut, scilicet, hæc fides, hæc professio fidei, qua credimus Christum esse Filium Dei vivi, sit æternum et immobile fundamentum Ecclesiæ. Et hæc interpretatio est omnium solemnior, quam sequuntur Patres doctoresque quadraginta quatuor: et inter istos, ex Oriente, Gregorius Nissenus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Chrysostomus, Theophylactus; ex Occidente, Hilarius, Ambrosius, Leo Magnus; ex Africa, Augustinus. Quarta interpretatio asserit, verba illa, 'super hæc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam,'—intelligenda esse de illa petra, quam confessus fueret Petrus, i. e. Christum, ut scilicet Ecclesia inædificata sit super Christum; et hanc interpretationem sequuntur Patres, doctoresque sexdecim. Quinta Patrum

seventeen Fathers adopt, and among them Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria, Leo the Great, Augustine. The second interpretation understands those words "Upon this rock I will build my Church," to mean that He would build His Church upon all the apostles whom Peter on account of his primacy represented in his own person. And this interpretation is followed by eight Fathers, and among them by Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret. The third interpretation asserts that those words "Upon this rock I will build my church," are to be understood of the faith which Peter had confessed, to the end that this faith, this profession of faith whereby we believe Christ to be the Son of the Living God, might be the eternal and immovable foundation of the church. And this interpretation is of all others the most weighty, inasmuch as forty-four Fathers and doctors follow it; and among them, from the East, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Theophylact; from the West, Hilary, Ambrose, Leo the Great; from Africa, Augustine. The fourth interpretation asserts that those words "Upon this rock I will build my church" is to be understood of that rock which Peter had confessed, i. e.

interpretatio nomine petræ intelligit etiam ipsos fideles, qui credentes Christum esse Filium Dei constituuntur lapides vivi, ex quibus ædificatur Ecclesia."

Ex hoc sequitur aut nullum omnino argumentum in probationem Primatus ex verbis 'super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam,' aut nonnisi tenuiter probabile, suppiditari. . . . Si majorem numerum Patrum in hac re sequi debemus, tunc pro certo tenendum est per Petram, Fidem a Petro professam, non autem Petrum, fidem profitentem, intelligi oportere."

Concio Petri Kenrick archiepiscopi S. Ludovici. See Friedrich, Documenta ad illud. Conc. Vati. Vol I, p. 195, 196.

Obvium est ex verbis "Tu es Petrus, &c.," argumentum peremptorem in probationem etiam Primatus educi nequire. Id. p. 198.*

*The Council of Trent itself declares that the "one and firm foundation against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail" is the Nicene Symbol of Faith.

Christ, to the end that the church may be built upon Christ; and this interpretation sixteen Fathers and doctors follow. The fifth interpretation of the Fathers understands by the name of the rock also the faithful themselves, who believing Christ to be the Son of God are constituted the living stones of which the church is built.

From this it follows either that no argument at all in proof of the primacy can be derived from the words "Upon this rock I will build my Church," or at least one of slender probability. . . . If we ought in this matter to follow the greater number of the Fathers, then it must be held for certain that by the Rock we ought to understand the Faith professed by Peter, not Peter who professed the Faith."

Address of Peter Kenrick, archbishop of St. Louis, prepared for the Vatican Council of 1870. See Friedrich, Documents illustrating the Vatican Council, Vol. I, p. 195, 196.

Again: "It is obvious that from the words 'Thou art Peter,' &c., a conclusive argument in proof of the primacy cannot be drawn." Id. p. 198.

Another illustrious member of the Vatican Council, Bishop Strossmayer, spoke as follows to his brother bishops :

“ St. Cyril in his 4th book on the Trinity says, ‘ I believe that by the rock you must understand the mishaken faith of the Apostles.’ St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, in his 2d book on the Trinity, says, ‘ The rock (petra) is the blessed and only rock of the faith confessed by the mouth of St. Peter; ’ and in the 6th book of the Trinity he says, ‘ It is on this rock of the confession of faith that the Church is built.’ ‘ God,’ says St. Jerome, in the 6th book on St. Matthew, ‘ has founded His Church on this rock, and it is from this rock that the Apostle Peter has been named.’ After him St. Chrysostom says, in his 53d homily on St. Matthew, ‘ On this rock I will build my Church,’ that is, on the faith of the confession.’ Now what was the confession of the Apostle? Here it is, ‘ Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.’ Ambrose, the holy Archbishop of Milan, on the 2d chapter of the Ephesians, St. Basil of Saleucia, and the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon teach exactly the same thing. Of all the Doctors of antiquity, St. Augustine occupies one of the first places in knowledge and holiness. Listen, then, to what he writes in his second treatise on the first Epistle of St. John: ‘ What do the words mean, I will build my Church on this rock? On this faith, on that which said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God.’ In his 124th treatise on St. John, we find this most significant phrase: ‘ On this rock, which thou hast confessed, I will build my Church, since Christ was the Rock.’ The great Bishop believes so little that the Church was built on St. Peter, that he said to his people in his 10th Sermon, ‘ Thou art Peter, and on this rock (petra) which thou hast confessed,—on this rock which thou hast known, saying, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God,—I will build my Church,—above Myself, who am the Son of the Living God; *I will build it on Me, and not Me on thee.*’

“ That which St. Augustine thought upon this celebrated passage, was the opinion of all Christendom in his time. . . .

“ I conclude victoriously, with History, with Reason, with Logic, with good sense, and with a Christian conscience, that Jesus Christ did not confer any supremacy on Peter, and that the Bishops of Rome did not become sovereigns of the Church, but only by confiscating, one by one, all the rights of the Episcopate.”

V.

PRELIMINARY PROPOSITIONS NECESSARY TO THE PAPAL CLAIMS.

SO MUCH may suffice for this famous passage which has been made the chief, if not the sole, Scriptural foundation upon which the stupendous structure of the Papacy has been reared—it would be more exact to say by which it has been defended. In the light of the facts now brought forward, it can no longer be claimed as a support for that system by any candid controversialist. The principle by which Rome has bound herself precludes her (as Archbishop Kenrick points out) from relying upon these words of Christ in defending herself—nay, compels her to reject that interpretation as untrue—and if she were consistent with herself the words which encircle the dome of St. Peter's—

“TU ES PETRUS, ET SUPER HANC PETRAM ÆDIFICABO
ECCLESIAM MEAM,”

would long since have been erased.

But suppose the case were different, and it could be established that Peter was the Rock on which Christ declared He would build His Church, would the Roman claim be thereby established? This conclusion is often assumed, but it is far indeed from being true. There are several

other propositions of the greatest importance which would have first to be established. Let me enumerate them :

1. In building His Church upon Peter, Christ made him the supreme head and ruler of the Church, to whom all the rest of the Apostles and officers of the Church were to be subject.

2. These powers of jurisdiction and government were transmitted to the successors of St. Peter.

3. St. Peter was the Bishop of Rome, and the Popes are his successors.

But not one of these propositions can be established either from Scripture or from the writings of the Fathers of the first four centuries. As to the first, as I have pointed out in the text of my Letter, no words of Christ can be alleged in its support. Pope Leo XIII's statement that various prerogatives were conferred upon Peter alone, in exclusion of the rest of the Apostles, is clean contrary to Holy Scripture. The power of forgiving and retaining, the commission to make disciples of all nations, the mission to feed Christ's sheep, the gift of the Holy Ghost—all these were conferred equally upon the other Apostles, as I have shown, and as the early Fathers testify. If Peter was singled out after the Resurrection for especial attention by the Lord in His instructions to the Eleven, it was because he, being the leader by age and by temperament, had professed peculiar fidelity, and had been most conspicuous in his infidelity in the hour of trial. If the Lord thrice said to him, "Feed my sheep," he also, in plain allusion to his

triple denial, thrice demanded of him, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" Now, it is further evident that if such powers had been conferred upon Peter there must have been (1) a clear statement of them—which we nowhere find, and (2) some evidence in the subsequent New Testament history of the exercise of these powers. But (as I have again shown above, p. 27) there is no evidence whatever of Peter's having claimed or exercised such prerogatives, whereas there is evidence of the contrary. This being the case, it is not strange that none of my critics has made any attempt to meet the Scriptural argument upon this point—nor, indeed, has made any allusion to it.

As to the second proposition, viz., that these extraordinary powers and prerogatives were intended to pass to the successors of St. Peter, there is not a syllable in Holy Scripture that can by any ingenuity be made to support such a view, and I am not aware that the Roman controversialists attempt to bring forward any Scripture for this end. Certainly Pope Leo, in his Encyclical here considered, does not.

As to the third thesis, that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome and that the Popes are his successors, there appears to be no historical evidence that this Apostle ever was Bishop of Rome. Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (A. D. 180), says that St. Peter taught at Rome and suffered martyrdom there; but then he says the same thing of St. Paul, and neither fact establishes his episcopal jurisdiction in Rome. Tertullian's statement that Clement was ordained at Rome by

Peter, not only fails to establish the fact that he was Bishop of Rome, but is itself plainly a complete mistake, since Clement did not become Bishop of Rome till A. D. 90, twenty-three years after St. Peter's death, which occurred A. D. 67.

In truth, the first Bishop of Rome was not Peter, but Linus, as is incontestibly established by the testimony of Irenæus. Thus the whole theory of St. Peter's twenty-five years' Episcopate at Rome, when brought to the bar of historical investigation, collapses, and with it the Papal claim of inheritance of supreme power as his legitimate successors.*

It is interesting to compare the answer made by the Eastern Church to Pope Leo XIII upon this point. It is found in the Patriarchal and Synodical Encyclical Letter addressed to the Metropolitans and Bishops by the Patriarch of Constantinople and his brethren,† in the month of August, 1895:

“When we refer back to the Fathers and to the Œcumenical Councils of the first nine centuries, we find that the Bishop of Rome was never recognized as the supreme authority or as the infallible head of the Church; on the contrary, each Bishop was the head and president of his own local church, being subject only to synodical decrees and to the decisions of the Church at large, which alone is infallible. From this general rule the Bishop of Rome was least exempt, as the history of the Church shows, since the only everlasting Chief and the immortal Head of the Church is our Lord Jesus Christ; for ‘He is the head of the body of the Church,’ he who hath said to his divine

* See Archdeacon Sinclair's Charge *ut supra*, pp. 33, 34.

† Published by John & E. Bumpus, Oxford St., London.

disciples and apostles on his assumption into heaven, 'and lo, I am with you alway unto the end of the world.' Peter, whom the papists,—on the strength of the Apocryphal Pseudo-Clementines of the Second Century—have purposely imagined to be the founder of the Roman Church and its first Bishop,—Peter is seen in Scripture discussing as an equal with his equals of the Apostolic Synod of Jerusalem. On another occasion he is bitterly reproached by Paul, as is manifest in the Epistle to the Galatians. . . . Such being the inspired teaching of the Apostles, as regards the foundation and the head of the Church of God, it is but natural that the Divine Fathers, who are immediately connected with Apostolic tradition, should have had and could have conceived no idea of an absolutistic supremacy either in the Apostle Peter or in the Bishops of Rome, nor could they attribute to the gospel text in question an interpretation wholly foreign to the Church, but only its true and orthodox meaning. They could not invent arbitrarily and of their own will a novel dogma, erecting upon a pretended succession to Peter an overbearing supremacy of the Roman Bishop.

"This could be even less so, considering that the Church of Rome was founded, not by Peter, of whose apostolic work in Rome history knows nothing, but mainly through the disciples of the heaven-soaring Apostle of the nations, Paul, whose apostolic ministry in Rome is clear to all men" (pp. 7-9).

VI.

PETER AND THE POWER OF THE KEYS.

REFERRING to the power of the keys, the Papal Encyclical declares, "Thus the power of St. Peter is supreme and absolutely independent." And again, "Many (prerogatives) were bestowed upon St. Peter apart from the Apostles," among which are enumerated "the power of forgiving and retaining," and "the authority to feed." Such an assertion is completely overthrown by the New Testament record, which shows that these powers were conferred equally upon the other Apostles. Thus in St. John xx. 23 we read that the Risen Lord said to the assembled Apostles: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

As stated in the text of my letter, the Fathers assert equality of power and authority among the Apostles.

For example, the illustrious *Isidore*, Bp. of Seville (ob. A. D. 636).

Quoting Matt. xvi. 18, he proceeds:

"Hic ergo ligandi, solvendi-
que potestatem primus accepit,
primus que ad fidem populum
virtute suæ prædicationis ad-
duxit, siquidem et cæteri apostoli

"This man therefore first re-
ceived the power of binding and
loosing, and he first led the
people unto faith by virtue of
his preaching, since the other

cum Petro pari consortio honoris et potestatis effecti sunt."

Isidori Hispalensis, De Ecc. Officiis II, Cap. v. p. 456 (ed. of 1778).

apostles also were clothed with a fellowship of honor and power equal to that of Peter."

Bishop Barrow quotes the following :*

St. Cyprian :

"Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quad fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis." Again : "Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat." Cyp. de Un. Eccl. B. p. 93.

"Certainly the other apostles were that which Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship of honor and power." And : "After his resurrection, he distributes to all the apostles equal power."

St. Chrysostom :

Δεικνὺς, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἑκα-
στος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. Gall. ii.
8. (Of St. John) ὁ τὰς κλῆις
ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν. Præf. Evan.
Joh.

"Showing, that each one received the same dignity." "He (St. John) hath the keys of Heaven."

He calls St. Paul ἰσοτιμον αὐτῶ, "Equal in honor to him" (St. Peter).

St. Cyril :

Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι
ἀλλήλοις.

"Peter and John equal to one another in honor."

Theophylact :

Εἰ γὰρ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον
εἰρηγται, τὸ δῶσω σοι; Ἀλλὰ καὶ
πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται.
In loco.

"Is it said to Peter alone 'I will give thee'? Nay, it is given also to all the apostles."

* "Supremacy of the Pope," p. 93 seq.

Origen :

"Αρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ, δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδὲις ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται; εἰ δὲ κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους τὸ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τάτε προειρημένα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα; Orig. on Matt. xvi.

"Are the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, then, given to Peter only? And shall none other of the blessed [apostles] receive them? But if the promise 'I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven' is common also to the others, why are not also all the things spoken before and following after as addressed to Peter?"

Abp. Kenrick, in his speech for the Vatican Council, quotes the following :

St. Augustine :

Tibi dabo claves regni coelorum, tanquam ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem : cum et illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc cum omnibus tanquam personam generis ipsius unitatis acceperit ; ideo unus pro omnibus, quia unitas est in omnibus." In Joan Evang. cxviii, c. 4.

" 'I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,' as if he alone received the power of binding and loosing ; since he, one speaking for all, made that confession, and so received this (promise) for all, as if he bore the person of their unity ; therefore one for all, because the unity is in all."

St. Ambrose :

Tibi inquit, dabo claves regni coelorum ; et ut solvas et ligas . . . Quod Petro dicitur, apostolis dicitur. In Ps. xxxviii. n. 37.

"To thee he says, 'I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and that thou mayst loose and bind.' . . . What he says to Peter, he says to the Apostles."

Bishop Jewel quotes the following (in the Latin version) from—

St. Basil :

Omnes [pastores et doctores] ex æquo et ligant, et absolvunt, quem ad modum ille [Petrus].

“All pastors and teachers equally both bind and absolve, in the same manner as he [Peter].”

In *Libello de Vita Solitaria*, cap. 23 [II. 755]. See Jewel, Vol. II, p. 170.

and this from—

St. Jerome :

At dices, super Petrum fundatur ecclesia: licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur. *Adv. Jovinianum* lib. I. [iv. pt. 2, 168.]

“But you say, the Church is founded upon Peter; although in another place that same (act of founding) is done upon all the apostles, and all receive the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and equally upon them is the strength of the Church imposed.”

Compare—

St. Augustine :

“Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, *Pasce oves meas.*” *De Agone Christi*, 30.

“When it is said to Peter, it is said to all, ‘Feed my sheep.’”

and—

St. Chrysostom :

In *Matt. Hom.* lxxvii. p. 749 B.

Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου . . . οὐ πρὸς ἰσρέας τούτο μόνον εἰρήται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν, ἐμπεπιστευμένων ποιῆμιον.

“Feed my sheep—this is not said to the hierarchy alone, but to each one of us to whom is entrusted even a little flock.”

Dr. Littledale quotes the following from Cyril of Alexandria: “By this triple confession of blessed Peter, his sin, con-

sisting of a triple denial, was done away, and by the words of our Lord, 'Feed my sheep,' a renewal, as it were, of the apostleship already conferred on him is understood to take place, removing the shame of his after fall and taking from him the cowardice of human frailty." (Comm. in Joann. xxi.)

"I CONCLUDE VICTORIOUSLY, WITH HISTORY, WITH REASON, WITH LOGIC, WITH GOOD SENSE, AND WITH A CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE, THAT JESUS CHRIST DID NOT CONFER ANY SUPREMACY ON ST. PETER, AND THAT THE BISHOPS OF ROME DID NOT BECOME SOVEREIGNS OF THE CHURCH, BUT ONLY BY CONFISCATING, ONE BY ONE, ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE EPISCOPATE."

—BP. STROSSMAYER.

VII.

THE PRIMACY OF PETER.

IN the foregoing pages it has been shown that neither in Holy Scripture nor in the ancient Fathers is there assigned to St. Peter the office of supreme head and ruler of the church, to whom universal jurisdiction and absolute power were committed by Christ. But it is not denied that that Apostle was the leader among the Apostles, their spokesman and representative, both by reason of age and of the ardent, active temperament he possessed, and that in this way he held a kind of primacy among them; the primacy of one who was *primus inter pares*. Accordingly, in my letter to Pope Leo I have said, "To St. Peter, brave and devoted leader that he was, was given the great and enviable privilege of first opening the doors of the Christian Church to the Jews on the day of Pentecost, and to the Gentiles in the case of Cornelius and his friends at a later period." This was the view of Tertullian, who says St. Peter "did initiate the key" (*ipse clavem imbuit*) by first preaching the Gospel in Jerusalem after the Ascension. Gregory says that "Peter is not called the Univer-

sal Apostle" (Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur). And Ambrose, "Between Peter and Paul it is uncertain who was placed first" (Inter Petrum et Paulum, quis cui præponatus, incertum est).

Bishop Jewel says :

"St. Peter in the old Fathers is diversely called the first, the chief, the top, the high honour of the Apostles; and in Eusebius and St. Augustine, *πρωτόγονος* and *princeps apostolorum*. In which last words of Eusebius and St. Augustine, I must do thee, good reader, to understand, that *princeps* is not always taken for a prince, or governor ended with power, but oftentimes for the first man, or best of a company."

In the "Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ"—that splendid monument of his learning and ability—Bishop Jewel very tersely states the answer of the Anglican Church to the extravagant claims set up for St. Peter by the Roman theologians.

"Apostolos, ut Cyprianus ait, pari omnes inter se fuisse potestate; atque hoc idem fuisse alios, quod Petrus fuit: omnibus ex æquo dictum fuisse, Pascite; omnibus, Ite in mundum universum; omnibus, Docete evangelium; et ut ait Hieronymus, Omnes episcopos, ubicunque tandem sint, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopolis, sive Rhegii, ejusdem esse meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii." Works, vol. iv. p. 17.

"We hold that the Apostles, as Cyprian says, were all equal one with another in power: that to all alike it was said, 'Feed;' to all alike, 'Go ye into all the world;' to all alike, 'Teach the Gospel;' and, as Jerome saith, wherever they may be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, they are of the same dignity, of the same priesthood."

The force of the argument from Holy Scripture against the claims of the Papacy is felt by many Roman Catholic

divines. Witness the following passage from the famous speech of the courageous and eloquent Bishop Strossmayer, delivered in the Vatican Council in 1870 :

“Penetrated with the feelings of responsibility, of which God will demand of me an account, I have set myself to study, with the most serious attention, the writings of the Old and New Testament, and have asked these venerable monuments of truth to make me know if the Holy Pontiff, who presides there, is truly the successor of St. Peter, Vicar of Jesus Christ, and infallible Doctor of the Church. To resolve this grave question, I have been obliged to ignore the present state of things, and to transport myself in mind, with the evangelical torch in my hand, to the days when there was neither Ultramontanism, nor Gallicanism, and in which the Church had for Doctors St. Paul, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John—Doctors to whom no one can deny the divine authority without putting in doubt that which the Holy Bible, which is here before me, teaches us, and which the Council of Trent has proclaimed the rule of faith and morals. I have then opened these sacred pages. Well, shall I dare to say it? I have found nothing, either near or far, which sanctions the opinion of the Ultramontanes. And still more, to my very great surprise, I find no question in the Apostolic days, of a Pope, successor to St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ, no more than of Mahomet, who did not then exist.

“You, Monsignor Manning, will say that I blaspheme; you, Monsignor Pic, will say that I am mad. No, Monsignori, I do not blaspheme, and I am not mad. Now, having read the whole New Testament, I declare before God, with my hand raised to that great crucifix, that I have found no trace of the Papacy as it exists at this moment. . . . Reading then the sacred books with that attention of which the Lord has made me capable, I do not find one single chapter or one little verse in which Jesus Christ gave St. Peter the mastery over the Apostles, his fellow-workers. If Simon Son of Jonas had been what we believe His Holiness Pius IX to be to-day, it is wonderful that He had not said to him, ‘When I shall have ascended to my Father you shall all obey Simon Peter as you obey Me. I establish him my Vicar upon earth.’ Not only is Christ silent upon this point, but so little does He think of giving a head to the Church that when he promises

thrones to his Apostles to judge the twelve tribes of Israel He promises them twelve, one for each, without saying that among these thrones one shall be higher than the others, which shall belong to Peter. . . . When Christ sent the Apostles to conquer the world, to all He gave equally the power to bind and to loose, and to all He gave the promise of the Holy Spirit. Permit me to repeat it. If He had wished to constitute Peter His Vicar, He would have given him the chief command over His Spiritual Army. . . . One thing has surprised me very much. Turning it over in my mind I said to myself, If Peter had been elected Pope would his colleagues have been permitted to send him, with St. John, to Samaria to announce the gospel of the Son of God? (Acts viii. 14.) . . . But here is another still more important fact. An Œcumenical Council is assembled at Jerusalem to decide on the questions which divide the faithful. Who would have called together this Council if St. Peter had been Pope? St. Peter. Who would have presided at it? St. Peter or his legates. Who would have formed or promulgated the Canons? St. Peter.

“Well, nothing of all this occurred. The Apostle assisted at the Council as all the others did, and it was not he who summed up, but St. James; and when the decrees were promulgated, it was in the name of the Apostles and the Elders and the Brethren. (Acts xv.) . . . Neither in the writings of St. Paul, St. John, or St. James, have I found a trace or germ of the Papal power. St. Luke, the historian of the missionary labors of the Apostles, is silent on this all-important point. The silence of these holy men, whose writings make part of the Canon of the divinely inspired Scriptures, has appeared to me burdensome and impossible if Peter had been Pope, and as unjustifiable as if Thiers, writing the history of Napoleon Bonaparte, had omitted the title of Emperor. . . . That which has surprised me most, and which moreover is capable of demonstration, is the silence of St. Peter. If the Apostle had been what we proclaim him to be, that is, the Vicar of Jesus Christ on the earth, he surely would have known it. If he had known it, how is it that not once did he act as Pope? He might have done it on the day of Pentecost when he pronounced his first sermon, and he did not do it; at the Council of Jerusalem, and he did not do it; at Antioch, and he did not do it; neither did he do it in the two letters directed to the Church. Can you imagine such a Pope, my venerable Brethren, if St. Peter had been the Pope? Now, if you wish to maintain that he was the

Pope, the natural consequence arises, that he was ignorant of the fact. Now I ask whoever has a head to think and a mind to reflect, are these two suppositions possible?

“To return, I say, while the Apostles lived, the Church never thought that there could be a Pope. To maintain the contrary all the sacred writings must have been thrown to the flames, or entirely ignored. But I hear it said on all sides, Was not St. Peter at Rome? Was he not crucified with his head down? Are not the seats on which he taught, and the altars at which he said the mass, in the Eternal City? St. Peter having been at Rome, my venerable brethren, rests only on tradition. But if he had been Bishop of Rome, how can you from that Episcopate prove his supremacy? Scaliger, one of the most learned of men, has not hesitated to say, that St. Peter’s Episcopate and residence at Rome ought to be classed with ridiculous legends. (Repeated cries, ‘Shut his mouth, shut his mouth; make him come down from the pulpit!’) Venerable brethren, I am ready to be silent; but is it not better, in an assembly like this, to prove all things, as the Apostle commands, and to believe what is good? But, my venerable friends, we have a Dictator before whom we must prostrate ourselves, and be silent all, (even Pius IX,) and bow our heads. This Dictator is history.”

The fact that Bishop Strossmayer subsequently submitted to the Vatican Decrees must detract from our admiration of his courage and his consistency, but cannot weaken the force of his testimony here given as a man of learning upon the questions at issue.

“THAT VERY LATE INVENTION THAT BISHOPS RECEIVE THEIR JURISDICTION FROM THE POPES, AND ARE, AS IT WERE, HIS VICARS, SHOULD BE BANISHED FROM CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS AS UNHEARD OF FOR TWELVE CENTURIES.”—BOSSUET.

VIII.

THE PRIMACY ANCIENTLY CONCEDED TO THE BISHOP OF ROME.

LET it be clearly understood that we concede that the Bishop of Rome was anciently acknowledged to hold a primacy of honor. Bishop Jewel thus states the Anglican view :

“As for the rest, that the Bishop of Rome had an estimation and a credit and a prerogative before others, it is not denied. For of the four patriarchs, he had the first place, both in Council and out of Council; and therefore the greatest authority and direction of matters in all assemblies.”

But two things are made abundantly clear upon investigation of the nature of that primacy: *first*, that it was yielded to the Bishop of Rome, not because he was supposed to be the successor of St. Peter, but because of the imperial dignity of the city of Rome, as the Capital of the World, and, *second*, that this primacy was one of honor, rather than of power, and did not carry with it any concession of universal jurisdiction or supreme authority, much less of Papal infallibility. Upon these two points Antiquity speaks with no uncertain voice.

DECREES OF COUNCILS.

1. The Council of Constantinople thus decreed (A. D. 381):

*Τὸν μὲν τοι Κωνσταντινουπό-
λεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεία
τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ρώμης
ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν
νέαν Ρώμην. (Canon III.)*

“That the Bishop of Constan-
tinople have the prerogative of
honour next after the Bishop of
Rome; for Constantinople is New
Rome.”

2. The Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), the largest of the ancient councils, consisting of no less than 630 fathers, decreed equal privileges to Constantinople with those hitherto enjoyed by Old Rome, at the same time declaring that the Primacy had by the Fathers been conceded to Rome, “because it was the imperial city.”

They said:

*“Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσ-
βυτέρας Ρώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν
τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες
εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ πρεσ-
βεία· καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινού-
μενοι οἱ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα θεο-
φιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα
πρεσβεία ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας
Ρώμης ἀγιοτάτῳ θρόνῳ, ἐδλό-
γως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλεία καὶ
συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ
τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων
τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ρώμῃ,
καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ὡς
ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι,
δευτέραν μετ’ ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν.
Canon xxviii.*

“For the Fathers properly gave the Primacy to the throne of the Elder Rome, because that was the imperial city. And the 150 most religious bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome, judging with reason, that the city which was honored with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her.” Canons of first four General Councils. Jas. Parker and Co., Oxford, 1874. p. 72.

Pope Leo XIII declares that this 28th Canon is "worthless," because "it lacks the assent and approval of the Apostolic See." But the fact remains that this great Œcumenical Council was of opinion that the precedence enjoyed by Rome was not a divinely given prerogative, but a privilege conferred on her by the Council, and not because of her Bishop being St. Peter's successor, but because Rome was the Imperial City. The Canon moreover was unanimously adopted, and has never ceased to be acknowledged as authoritative by the whole Eastern Church. And further, Pope Leo the Great acknowledged the orthodoxy of the Council and warmly praised its decisions. How, then, could so great and learned and orthodox a council be in ignorance of the existence of the Papal supremacy and of its divine origin?

In the Encyclical of the Patriarchs of the Holy Eastern Church already quoted, this Canon is quoted with the following comment:

"From this Canon it is manifest that the Bishop of Rome is only equal in honor to the Bishop of the Church of Constantinople, and in no Canon, nor in any of the Fathers, is it hinted that the Bishop of Rome is alone head of the Church at large, or infallible judge of the Bishops of the other independent and autocephalous churches, or successor of the Apostle Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth." *Ut supra*, p. 9.

I call attention next to

THE SILENCE OF THE FATHERS.

A very able and learned writer makes the following assertion:

“Of all the Fathers who interpret these passages in the Gospels (Matt. xvi. 18, John xxi. 17) *not a single one applies them to the Roman Bishops as Peter's successors*. How many Fathers have busied themselves with these texts, yet not one of them whose commentaries we possess—Origen, Chrysostom, Hilary, Augustine, Cyril, Theodoret, and those whose interpretations are collected in *Catenas*—has dropped the faintest hint that the Primacy of Rome is the consequence of the commission and promise to Peter! Not one of them has explained the rock or foundation on which Christ would build His church of the office given to Peter to be transmitted to his successors.”*

The same is true of that other passage, St. Luke xxii. 32, which the papal apologists allege in support of their cause. Our Lord said to Peter, foreseeing his denial and downfall, “I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.” This they interpret to be a promise of supreme jurisdiction and power to Peter and his successors. But “no single writer to the end of the seventh century dreamt of such an interpretation; all without exception—and there are eighteen of them—explained it simply as a prayer of Christ that His apostle might not wholly succumb, and lose his faith entirely on his approaching trial. The first to find in it a promise of privileges to the Church of Rome was Pope Agatho in 680.” *Id.* p. 75.

Let the advocates of the papal claims answer the following questions:

1. Why is it that St. Augustine in his controversy with the Donatists never brought forth this mighty weapon of the papal power, if there was any such weapon then found

* The Pope and the Council, p. 74.

in the armory of the Church? If union and communion with, and subjection to, the Roman See were held then to be essential to Catholicity, as Pope Leo now affirms, why did this great writer, in treating of the Unity of the Church, and in arguing at length with the Donatists against their separation from the Church, never in all his seventy-five chapters say one single word upon the subject?

2. Why did Pope Pelagius I, praising St. Augustine for his services in the cause of Unity, make no allusion to any exclusive privilege of the See of Rome, but refer rather to "the divine doctrine which places the foundation of the Church in the Apostolical *Sees*," and to the fact that "they are schismatics who separate themselves from the communion of these Apostolical *Sees*," viz., Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem?

3. Why is it that in the treatises of the Ancient Fathers upon the hierarchy of the Church, there is no mention made of the Papal Office as the highest of all? Even as late as A. D. 631 "the famous Spanish theologian Isidore, of Seville, describes all the grades of the hierarchy, and divides Bishops into four ranks,—Patriarchs, Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Bishops," making no mention of the Pope as distinct from the Patriarchs.

4. Why is it that St. Jerome (Ep. cxxv. 15), when enforcing on monks the duty of submission to one head "by the instinctive habits of beasts, bees, and cranes, the contentions of Esau and Jacob, of Romulus and Remus, the oneness of an emperor in his dominions, of a judge in his

province, of a master in his house, of the pilot in a ship, of the general in an army, of the Bishop, the archpresbyter, and the archdeacon in a Church,"—in the very place where, on the Roman theory, we should look for the crown of the argument in the one universal Bishop, makes no mention of any such head as existing?*

5. Why is it that the Records of the first four General Councils contain no decree, no canon, no recognition in any form of the Supremacy of the Popes of Rome? Had it been recognized and accepted by the church, is it conceivable that it would have left no impress upon the acts and proceedings of those great œcumenical assemblages?

6. Why did the churches of the East pay no regard whatever to the acts of excommunication issued (severally) by Innocent I and Pope Felix III in the fifth century?

7. Why did the General Council of the African Churches, A. D. 419, decree that if any one should appeal from the judgment of the African Bishops to Rome he should be excommunicated?

POSITIVE PATRISTIC EVIDENCE.

The famous correspondence between Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, and Stephen, Bishop of Rome, furnishes evidence incontestible that the Roman Bishops in that age exercised no power or jurisdiction over other Bishops; in other words, that the Papacy

* J. C. Robertson, *History of Christian Church*, Vol. 1, p. 436, note.

had not then been established. The then Pope, in the middle of the 3d Century, began to put forth claims of jurisdiction, which were at once indignantly rejected by his fellow Bishops. Firmilian, writing to Cyprian about Stephen, says: "I am justly indignant at this so open and manifest folly of Stephen, that he who boasts of the place of his Episcopate, and contends that he holds the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid, should be doing as he does."

The practice of rebaptizing reclaimed heretics had been approved by two successive Councils at Carthage (A. D. 255, 256). Gieseler says, "The latter of these Councils having informed Stephen, Bishop of Rome, of their decision in a formal letter (Ep. Cyp. 72), received from him a haughty answer refusing to submit to it. This led to a violent controversy between Stephen and Cyprian. The former broke off all communion with the African Churches, but this did not prevent their repeating the former decision in the most express terms at a third Council held in Carthage (A. D. 256). Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, assured them (Epist. Cyp. 75) of the entire assent of the Churches in his province, accompanying his letter with bitter vituperations against Stephen, whilst Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, plainly condemns the course Stephen had pursued." (Vol. 1, p. 165.)

Mosheim, commenting upon this, says, "If any one after reading the language held by the Africans and the Bishops of Rome can still maintain that the Roman prelates in that

age had any power or jurisdiction over other Bishops, such a person must either be beyond measure obstinate, or vehemently in love with opinions imbibed in his childhood." St. Augustine, nearly two centuries later, held the Africans justified in rejecting the decision of Pope Stephen, for which opinion the great Bishop of Hippo is roundly rebuked by Bellarmine (*De Eccles. i. 4*).

Archdeacon Sinclair quotes the following from a letter addressed by Bishop Firmilian to Pope Stephen: "While you think that all may be excommunicated by you, you have excommunicated yourself alone from all." And this from St. Cyprian's speech at the Council of Carthage: "Neither does any of us set up to be a Bishop of Bishops, nor by tyrannical power does any compel his colleagues to the necessity of obedience, since every Bishop, according to the allowance of his liberty and power, has his own proper right of judgment and can no more be judged by another, than he himself can judge another." * *Ut supra*, p. 36.

ST. JEROME.

The only authority that can be cited among the Fathers of the first four centuries on behalf of the papal claims

* The papal controversialists vainly seek to break the force of Cyprian's testimony above by quoting the letter of that Father to Pope Stephanus in the case of Marcianus, Bishop of Arles, but, as is pointed out by an eminent R. C. writer, Cyprian did no more than write to the Bishop of Rome, "as being his brother and colleague, who, by reason of his propinquity, might more easily know and judge of the whole matter." See the case fully discussed by Barrow, "The Pope's Supremacy," pp. 351-353.

(other than the Popes themselves) is that of this powerful and learned man. When a young man, he penned a letter to Pope Damasus (A. D. 376) in which occurs the following passage: "As I follow no leader but Christ, so I communicate with none but your blessedness—that is, with the Chair of Peter. For this I know is the Rock on which the Church is built, this the house where alone the Paschal Lamb can be rightly eaten. This is the Ark of Noah, and he who is not found in it shall perish when the flood prevails" (Ep. xv). Commenting upon this the Bishop of Manchester says: "Amongst all the writings of the Fathers of the first four centuries this passage stands absolutely alone. It seems to imply that, as a heedless young man, St. Jerome held that none could be in the Catholic Church without holding communion with Rome. Much excuse, however, is to be made for its author. He had just come from Rome, and had been living in the quiet atmosphere of its stately and immovable orthodoxy. All at once he finds himself plunged at Antioch into the perplexities of theological speculation and the turbulence of party strife. . . . Which party should he join? Tormented by his doubts and difficulties, he determines to take part with none of them but to fall back on the communion of that Church in which he had received baptism. For *him* assuredly that Church was the true Church, and it may well have seemed to him in his distress that nowhere else could he find the true ark and house of the Paschal Lamb. If he meant more than this by his large and vague phrases, it is certain that later in life he changed his opinions."

In proof of this assertion it is enough to cite his language at a period when the Roman claims began to be put forward by Pope Innocent I. The practice prevailing at Rome had been cited in favor of an abuse, whereupon St. Jerome wrote :

Et Gallia, et Brittannia, et Africa, et Persis, et Oriens, et India, et omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant : unam observant regulam veritatis. *Si auctoritas quæritur*, orbis major est urbe. Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, [sive Romæ,] sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, [sive Rhegii,] sive Alexandriæ, . . . ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est sacerdotii. . . . Cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt. . . . Quid mihi profers unius nobis consuetudinem?" Ad Evangelum [iv. pt. 2, pp. 803]. Jewel iv. p. 381.

"Both Gaul, and Britain, and Africa, and Persia, and the East, and India, and all barbarous nations, adore one Christ, observe one rule of truth. *If you ask for authority*, the world is greater than a city. Wherever there shall be a bishop, [whether at Rome,] or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, [or at Rhegium], or at Alexandria, . . . they are of the same dignity, of the same priesthood. . . . But all are successors of the Apostles. . . . Why do you bring forward to me the custom of one city"—(viz., Rome)?

The man who wrote these words cannot honestly be quoted as an authority for the Papacy. He asserts the equality of all Bishops. He refuses to admit the claims of one city (Rome) to dominate the Universal Church. And elsewhere he affirms that the Church is founded equally upon all the Apostles.

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST SIX GENERAL COUNCILS INCONSISTENT WITH THE ROMAN CLAIMS.

Observe the following particulars :

1. Not one of the first Six Œcumenical Councils of the Church Catholic was summoned by the Pope of Rome.

2. One of them, the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, was summoned in the face of the protest of Pope Leo I. 3. None of them was presided over by a Pope, though in one case, the 2d Council of Constantinople, A. D. 553, the Pope, Vigilius, was in the city at the time. 4. The decrees of the Council of Nicæa were promulgated at once without waiting for the confirmation of the Pope. 5. The 5th General Council strongly censured Pope Vigilius. 6. The 6th General Council (A. D. 680) declared Pope Honorius I a heretic, and anathematized him. (Every successive Pope for hundreds of years repeated this anathema.)* Let any candid man say whether these six facts are consistent with the supposed recognition at that period, or down to A. D. 680, of the Papal supremacy. Contrast with this record the story of the Vatican Council of 1870, still fresh in our memory.

OTHER CONCILIAR ACTS OF SIMILAR SIGNIFICANCE.

1. The Churches of the East continued in Communion with Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus, Patriarch of Constantinople, notwithstanding the fact that Pope Innocent I had excommunicated them.

* Father Stafford's reply to my allegation of the heresies of some of the Popes is sufficiently naive. He says: "You may call Popes heretics, but that does not make them such." But does the solemn pronouncement of a General Council "make them such"? Do the anathemas of his successors in the Papal chair for 300 years suffice to declare Pope Honorius a heretic? If Father Stafford denies this, he has denied the Vatican faith and is worse than a Protestant!

2. The General Council of the African Churches decreed excommunication against any who should appeal from the judgment of the African Bishops to those beyond the seas, namely, to Rome. (A. D. 419.)

3. The Bishops of Africa, in council assembled, excommunicated Pope Vigilius, A. D. 548.

4. The Council sent a letter to Pope Boniface I, repudiating his jurisdiction, and condemning his course as an unwarrantable assumption of authority. This letter bore the signature of St. Augustine.

Will it be pretended, except by brazen-faced effrontery itself, that the Bishops, the Churches, the Councils who acted thus, recognized the supremacy of the Papal Chair?

ALLEGED POWER OF POPES TO CONFIRM OR RESCIND DECREES OF COUNCILS.

But his Holiness Leo XIII tells the Christian world in his Encyclical that "the Popes have ever unquestionably exercised the right of ratifying or rejecting the decrees of Councils." Let us bring this statement to the bar of History. Note then the following facts: 1. Not one of the first four General Councils contain any decree, or canon, or recognition in any form of any such right. 2. The decrees of the Council of Nicæa (A. D. 325), the most famous and momentous of them all, were promulgated at once without any question of Papal confirmation. 3. The Council of Chalcedon (summoned in spite of the protest of the Pope) proposed to bestow, as we have seen,

privileges on the Bishop of Constantinople equal to those enjoyed by the Bishop of Rome, whereupon the Pope's legates earnestly resisted and clamored against it; but all this had no effect upon the Council. The decree was, with general concurrence, adopted and subscribed by the imperial Commissioners and all the Bishops. 4. Pope Leo the Great inveighed fiercely against this decree, and used his utmost efforts to prevent its taking effect. But all to no purpose; for the Bishop of Constantinople in all the succeeding Councils occupied the place assigned him by the said decree, and the Popes were compelled finally to acquiesce. 5. General Councils did not hesitate to censure, to rebuke, to anathematize, to depose Popes, and these acts of theirs became effective, certainly without the ratification of the Popes in question. 6. Even Provincial Councils did not hesitate to excommunicate the Pope, *e. g.*, Pope Vigilius by an African Council, A. D. 548.

What, then, is the ground in history for the statements of Pope Leo XIII? This and this only: It was the custom of all Councils, with a view to giving added weight and authority to their decisions, to ask the consent thereto of all Catholic bishops who were absent from them; of *all*, observe, and not only of the Bishop of Rome. Thus the Emperor Constantine asked the assent of all bishops to the Nicene decrees. Thus the Council of Sardica wrote to the whole Episcopate: "Do ye also, our brethren, and fellow-ministers, the more use diligence, as being present in spirit with our synod, to yield consent by your subscription, that

concord may be preserved everywhere by all the fellow-ministers." Many examples of similar requests for confirmation of the decrees of Councils could be given. It goes without saying that the assent and confirmation of so eminent and powerful a bishop as the Bishop of Rome was most earnestly desired and was held as of very great importance.

Leo XIII alleges three instances of Popes rescinding the acts of Councils. But the question is not what the Popes assumed to do—what power they laid claim to—what authority they usurped; but what rights and powers they were acknowledged to possess. Pope Leo the Great undertook to rescind the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, as we have seen. He wrote of them, "*We make (them) void, and by the authority of the blessed Apostle St. Peter, by a general determination we disannul.*" But the decrees thus disannulled by the Bishop of Rome stood and were carried into effect, as we have seen, and Rome itself was compelled to acquiesce in them.

In further illustration of the independence of General Councils of the confirmation of their decrees by the Pope, let any one read the Letter of the Synod of Constantinople (A. D. 381) to the Emperor Theodosius the Great. The Fathers say, "We pray therefore your clemency, that the decree of the Synod may be confirmed, that as you have honoured the Church by the letters of citation, so also you may set your seal to the conclusion of what has been decreed." On Leo XIII's theory this petition should have been presented, not to the Emperor but to the Pope.

"HISTORY IS NEITHER [ROMAN] CATHOLIC, NOR ANGLICAN, NOR CALVINISTIC, NOR LUTHERAN, NOR ARMENIAN, NOR SCHISMATIC, GREEK, NOR ULTRAMONTANE. SHE IS WHAT SHE IS."—Bp. STROSSMAYER.

IX.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPACY.

THE papal power was gradually developed, and it is not difficult to trace the principal steps of its development.

First Step. The influence of the pseudo-Clementine Letters and Homilies, a forgery probably of the middle of the second century. These writings profess to be from the hand of Clemens Romanus, who writes to James after the death of Peter, and states that the latter shortly before his death appointed the writer his successor. Here we have the origin of the story, repeated by Tertullian, that Clement was ordained Bishop of Rome by St. Peter. The Bishop of Manchester is of opinion that "the whole early persuasion of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate 'was due' to the acceptance in the 3d and following centuries of the Clementine fiction as genuine history. . . . No one had any suspicion that the Clementine romance was a lie invented by a heretic. The story was accepted on all sides."

With this view coincides the Encyclical Letter of the Holy Orthodox Church of the East already referred to: "Those absolutistic pretensions of Popedom were first manifested in the Pseudo-Clementines."

Second Step. The action of the Council of Sardica (A. D. 343) in giving a right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome on the part of any Bishop who considered himself unjustly condemned. This led to the consolidation of power in the hands of the Bishop of Rome, although the decree of the Council was not accepted by the Churches of Africa or the East.

Third Step. The decree of the Emperor Valentinian I, that all ecclesiastical cases arising in churches in the Empire should be henceforth referred for adjudication to the Bishop of Rome.

Fourth Step. The appeals provided for by the Council of Sardica and by the decree of Valentinian were voluntary appeals; but Pope Nicolas I, in the ninth century, set up the claim that, with or without appeal, the Bishop of Rome had an inherent right to review and decide all cases affecting Bishops.

Fifth Step. The forged Isidorian Decretals, which pretended to be a series of royal orders, and letters of ancient bishops of Rome, represented that primitive Christianity recognized in the Bishops of Rome supreme authority over the Church at large. They became a strong buttress and bulwark of the vast powers now claimed by the Popes in the person of Nicolas I.

“ TO FEAR HISTORY IS TO OWN YOURSELF CONQUERED ; AND MOREOVER, IF YOU MADE THE WHOLE OF THE WATERS OF THE TIBER TO PASS OVER IT, YOU WOULD NOT CANCEL A SINGLE PAGE.”—BP. STROSSMAYER.

X.

THE ISIDORIAN DECRETALS.

THIS huge fabrication arose about the middle of the ninth century in Western Gaul. It consists of a large number (about one hundred) of pretended decrees of about thirty successive Popes in the first three centuries, together with certain other spurious documents of Councils, and had for its object the protection of Bishops against their Metropolitans, and against the civil authorities, by magnifying the power of the Pope, and throwing it as an ægis around the persons of the Bishops. Nicolas I, the then Pope, was quick to avail himself of these Decretals in support of the scheme of papal aggrandizement. Upon them was built the novel pretension that the decrees of every Council require papal confirmation, and the further claim that the Pope was supreme in matters of faith, since he was the universal Bishop, all other Bishops being his servants; and thus the whole system of the Church was revolutionized, the original equality of power among Bishops being abolished, and, in its stead, the despotism of the Popes set up. “On these Decretals were founded the pretensions of the Popes to universal sway in the Church, whilst the pretended *Donatio Constantini*, a fiction of an earlier time, but adopted into them, was the first step in their advance to temporal power.”*

* Gieseler.

Their consummate flower appeared two centuries later, when Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) declared at his Roman Synod, "We desire to show the world that we can give or take away at our will kingdoms, duchies, earldoms, in a word, the possessions of all men; for we can bind and loose." The verdict of the Greek Patriarchs (already alluded to) is fully justified by history: "Those absolutistic pretensions of popedom, which were first manifested in the Pseudo-Clementines, were matured exactly at this time of Nicolas I, in the so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which are a mass of spurious and counterfeit royal orders and letters of ancient Bishops of Rome, whereby, contrary to historical truth, and to the established government of the Church, it was purposely put forth that primitive Christianity accorded to the Bishops of Rome unbounded authority over the Church as a whole" (*ut supra*, p. 11). It remains only to add that the divines and scholars of the Roman Church now fully admit the spurious and counterfeit nature of these Decretals—while clinging tenaciously to the principles thus fraudulently foisted upon the Church, and to the dogmas which have been built upon this foundation of wood, hay, and stubble, and not upon the Rock, Jesus Christ and his authority.*

* Hallam says: "Upon these spurious Decretals was built the great fabric of Papal supremacy over the different national churches, a fabric which has stood after its foundation crumbled beneath it; for no one has pretended to deny, during the last two centuries, that the imposture is too palpable for any but the most ignorant ages to credit."

XI.

IRENÆUS, BISHOP OF LYONS (ob. A. D. 202.)

A PASSAGE from this writer is sometimes quoted in support of the Roman claims. It is found in the third book of Irenæus "Against Heresies" (chapter iii), of which only the Latin version has come down to us, the original (Greek) having perished. He has been refuting the Gnostics by an appeal to Holy Scripture, and also to the "tradition which originates from the Apostles," which, he says, was committed to the Churches "throughout the whole world." He proceeds as follows :

"Since, however, it would be very tedious to reckon up the successions of all the churches, we do put to confusion all those who . . . assemble in unauthorized meetings by indicating that tradition derived from the Apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church, founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul."

Then follows the sentence in which it is alleged that Irenæus maintained that it was "a matter of necessity that every church *should agree with* this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority." That, however, is a mistranslation of his words. I give in the Latin the crucial clause, with a translation from a candid Roman Catholic writer of the whole sentence :

"Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potiozem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam." "For to this Church, on account of more potent principality, it is necessary that every church *resort* ;

in which church ever *by those who are on every side* has been preserved that tradition which is from the Apostles." (Berington and Kirk, vol. 1, p. 252. Quoted by Bishop Coxe. See Ante-Nicene Fathers, 1885, vol. 1, p. 415.)

Thus it appears that Irenæus cites the Roman Church, because, since on account of its being seated at the capital of the world, the faithful from all parts of the world must needs resort thither, in it the universal tradition of the Apostles would best be preserved. The Roman Church, being the Metropolitan Church, thus caught and focalized the rays of testimony concerning Apostolic tradition from the churches all over the world. Doubtless this was true when Irenæus wrote within, say, sixty or seventy-five years of the Apostolic Age. It would be less and less true as time elapsed, and ancient oral tradition became dimmed or adulterated.

How far Irenæus was from recognizing any dogma of Papal Infallibility may be seen from the fact that he did not hesitate to rebuke Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, for his Montanist heresy, and later to remonstrate with Victor, another Bishop of Rome, for disturbing the peace of the Church.

Moreover Irenæus did not recognize St. Peter as first Bishop of Rome. He has left us, in his 3d book against Heresies, Chap. 3, a list of the Bishops of Rome, which differs in this vital point with the Roman list.

Irenæus :

1. Linus.
2. Anacletus.
3. Clement.
4. Evaristus.
- &c.

The Roman Almanack :

1. St. Peter.
2. St. Linus.
3. St. Anacletus.
4. St. Clement.
- &c.

XII.

ST. CYPRIAN ON THE EQUALITY OF BISHOPS.

BUT the authority of Cyprian is appealed to in behalf of the Roman claim that the Church is built upon Peter and that there can be no unity except through the Chair of Peter. Father Stafford in his 2d reply to my Letter to Leo XIII quotes at length a passage from this Father in support of that position. But he has quoted, (innocently, no doubt,) from a vitiated and interpolated copy. "Cyprian," says the late Bishop Coxe, "has been doctored in order to bring him into shape capable of being misinterpreted. But you will say, Where is the proof of such interpolations? The greatly celebrated Benedictine Edition reads as the interpolated column does, and who would not credit Baluzius? Now note, Baluzius refuted these interpolations and others; but dying (A. D. 1718) with his work unfinished, the completion of the task was assigned to a nameless monk, who confesses that he corrupted the work of Baluzius, or rather glories in the exploit." *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. v, p. 558.

I give in parallel columns, first, the true rendering of the passage, next, the original with interpolations indicated, and place in a note the quotation as Father Stafford cites it:

"The Lord speaks to Peter, saying, 'I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my Church,

"Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum
*Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es
Petrus, & super hanc petram
ædificabo ecclesiam meam, & porta*

and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' And again to the same he says, after his resurrection, 'Feed my sheep.' And although to all the apostles after his resurrection, He gives an equal power and says, 'As the Father hath sent Me, even so I send you; receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted unto him; and whosoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained; yet, that He might set forth unity, He arranged, by His authority, the origin of that unity as beginning from one. Assuredly the rest of the apostles were also the same as was Peter, endowed with a like partnership both of honour and power; but the beginning proceeds from unity. . . . Does he who does not hold this unity of the Church think that he holds the faith? Does he who strives against and resists the Church, trust that he is in the Church?†

inferorum non vincent eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum; & quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata & in cælis; & quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta & in cælis. Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam dicit, *Pasce oves meas.* [Super illum unum ædificat ecclesiam suam, & illi pascendas mandat oves suas.]* Et quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat & dicat, *sicut misit me pater, & ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum sanctum, si cujus remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi, si cujus tenueritis, tenebuntur,* tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique & cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur. . . . Hanc ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui ecclesiæ renititur & resistit, [qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est ecclesia, deserit,] in ecclesia se esse confidit?‡ Cypriani opera. Parissis 1726, pp. 194-5.

*The passages above placed in brackets are interpolations.

†See the passage and interpolations quoted by Gieselers, Vol. I, p. 154, note.

‡Father Stafford quotes as follows. [Upon him (Peter) alone He

These interpolations, so cleverly introduced, completely reverse the teaching of Cyprian, and make him in this passage contradict his other writings, and, what is more, the whole tenor of his life and conduct, especially in the famous case of his controversy with Pope Stephen, referred to above. One must scrutinize very closely quotations from the ancient Fathers in the pages of Roman Catholic controversialists. It is by no means uncommon to find doubtful, spurious, or forged writings of the Fathers quoted as genuine.* This is not surprising when one remembers the history of the Spurious Clementines and the forged Isidorian Decretals, both of which played such an important part in the development of the Papacy—indeed, constituted its chief support in antiquity—which

built his Church, and ordered him to feed his sheep], and altogether after his resurrection, He gave similar powers to all the Apostles. Nevertheless that He might manifest unity, [*He established one chair,*] and by His authority disposed that the origin of that unity should be derived from one. The other Apostles were certainly that which Peter was, united in an equal society of honor and power. But the beginning takes its course from unity. [*The Primacy is given to Peter that the Church may be shown one and the chair one. They are all shepherds but the flock is shown to be one, which is fed with unanimous consent by all the Apostles.*] Does he believe that he holds faith, who does not hold to this unity of the Church? Does he believe that he is in the Church who withstands and resists the Church, [*who deserts the chair of Peter, upon which the Church is founded*]? St. Cyp. De. Un. Ec.

N. B.—All the passages italicized and bracketed by me are interpolations. The first and third of these do not appear in the Paris edition of 1726 from which I copy the quotation in the text above.

*See illustrations of this quoted by Littedale, Plain Reasons, &c., pp. 130-137.

were at the time believed to be genuine, but which are now acknowledged to have been forgeries by all well-informed Roman Controversialists. One recalls also the French New Testament, printed at Bordeaux in 1686 (a copy of which can be seen in the British Museum), put forth with Archiepiscopal approval, in which are to be found such audacious alterations of Holy Scripture as the following: 1 Cor. iii. 15 is rendered, "He himself shall be saved, yet in all cases as *by the fire of Purgatory*:" and 1 Tim. iv. 1 is rendered, "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter days some will separate themselves from the *Roman* faith."

It has been pointed out that had Cyprian held the Roman view of the Hierarchy, he must have maintained, *first*, that the power of the keys had been given to Peter; *second*, that to the rest of the Apostles he gave an inferior and subordinate authority; *third*, that the See of Rome has inherited the Petrine supremacy over all other Sees and churches; *fourth*, that the Unity of the Church can only be maintained by preserving this supremacy of the Roman See; and, *finally*, that Stephen, Bishop of Rome, was supreme above all other Bishops, and that, were all the Apostles but Peter then alive, they would be subject to him. But what Cyprian did actually maintain in his treatise on the Unity of the Church was (1) that the Apostle Peter received the first grant of the power of the keys, so that the origin of the Church was in him, but (2) that afterwards the very same honor and power were conferred upon the rest of the

Apostles; (3) that all Bishops, as successors of the Apostles, had coequal power and authority; and (4) that Stephen, Bishop of Rome, had no dominion over his brother Bishops of other Sees.*

Cyprian's maxim, "*Ecclesia in Episcopo*," then, has no affinity with the maxim on which the Church of Rome stands to-day, "*Ecclesia in Papa*;" but is radically and irreconcilably opposed to it. The *Constitutional Primacy* which he conceded to the Bishop of Rome had nothing in common with the *Absolutism* which in late ages was built up upon the foundation of the spurious Isidorian Decrees.† It may be difficult to be absolutely sure of the true reading of the passage cited above, but whatever the reading we must in-

* See Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. v, pp. 557-8.

† Gieseler, writing of the Ante-Nicene period, says: "Great stress was laid on the perfect equality of all Bishops, and each in his own diocese was answerable only to God and his conscience. Nor were they likely to allow any peculiar authority to the Successor of Peter, inasmuch as they attributed to Peter no superiority over the other Apostles. In the West, indeed, a certain regard was paid to the Church of Rome as the largest, and the only one in that region founded by an Apostle; but by no means were any peculiar rights conceded to it over the other churches. . . . As all the Bishops were supposed to be of like dignity and power, . . . they maintained their common right to interfere in any case where a Bishop had transgressed the established rules of the Church." (I. 153-155.) See the copious citations given by Gieseler in support of these conclusions.

Cyprian uniformly addresses Pope Cornelius and Pope Stephen as equals, using the terms *frater* and *collega*. He does not hesitate to reprimand and reprove them. In the affair of the Spanish Bishops *Basilides* and *Martialis* (A. D. 256) in which Cyprian was called upon to mediate, he "rejected the decision of the Bishop of Rome in their favor."

terpret it in the light of the known views of this Father elsewhere stated. Of two possible interpretations of his language, we must prefer that which is in harmony with, not that which contradicts, his general system. If Cyprian had written, "The primacy is given to Peter" (*Primatus Petro datur*), we would have to enquire what kind of primacy did he mean? And the following, among many passages, would suffice to show that he did not dream of *such* a primacy as Rome claims to-day: "Neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose to be first, and upon whom he built His Church, when he afterwards disputed with Paul concerning circumcision, claim or assume anything arrogantly or insolently, as to say that *he held the primacy* and ought to be obeyed by those who were new (in the faith) and by those who came after him."

(*Nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, et super quem ædificavit ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcisione postmodum disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere, et obtemperari a novellis et posteris sibi oportere.*) Epist. 71.

XIII.

WITNESS OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONAL CHURCHES.

THE following passage from the Encyclical already several times quoted exhibits the complete harmony of the Greek Church with the Anglican as to the independence of national churches in the early Christian centuries:

“XVI. Each autocephalous church, both in the East and the West, was, during the ages of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, entirely independent and self-governing. And as the bishops of the autocephalous Eastern Churches, so also those of Africa, Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain, administered their churches by means of their own local synods; the Bishop of Rome possessing no right of interference, since he also was amenable and obedient to synodical decisions. But in case of weighty questions, which required the sanction of the entire Church, recourse was had to an Œcumenical Council, which alone was, and still is, the high tribunal of the Church, as a whole. The bishops were independent of each other and entirely free within their own boundaries, being subject only to synodical ordinances, and taking their seats in such synods as equals; and no one of them ever laid claim to sovereign rights over the whole Church. But if certain ambitious bishops of Rome raised at times overbearing pretensions to an absolutism foreign to the traditions of the Church, they were duly refuted and reprimanded. It is proved, therefore, inaccurate and manifestly erroneous, that which his Beatitude Leo XIII avers in his encyclical, namely, that prior to the time of Photius the name of the See of Rome was holy unto all the nations of the Christian world, and that the East as well as the West, with one accord and without opposition, submitted to the Roman high priest, as successor of the Apostle Peter and consequently as vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth.

“XVII. During the nine centuries of the Œcumenical Councils the Eastern Orthodox Church never recognized the unswerving pretensions to supremacy put forward by the Bishop of Rome, nor did she ever submit to them, as the history of the Church testifies. The independent relations between East and West are clearly and manifestly evident from the following brief but noteworthy sentences of Basil the Great, in his letter to Eusebius among the saints, bishop of Samosata: ‘Verily, it is the nature of a haughty disposition, if indulged, to exceed itself in haughtiness. For if the Lord is gracious unto us, what need have we of other aid? But if the wrath of God continues, who will help us against the superciliousness of the West (those men) who neither know the truth nor will admit of learning it, but, having preconceived false suspicions, do not those things which they did before in the matter of Marcellus?’ Later again, towards the close of the ninth century, Photius, that sacred and luminous hierarch, when defending the independence of the Church of Constantinople, foresaw the perversion of the polity of the Church in the West and its disposition to forsake the orthodoxy of the East, and assayed to avert the danger by conciliatory means at first. But the Bishop of Rome, Nicholas I, by intervening in the East, beyond his own province and contrary to the canons, and by attempting to subjugate to himself the Church of Constantinople, brought about the first stage of the grievous dissension of the Churches. Those absolutistic pretensions of popedom, which were first manifested in the Pseudo-Clementines, were matured exactly at the time of Nicholas in the so-called Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which are a mass of spurious and counterfeit royal orders and letters of ancient bishops of Rome, whereby, contrary to historical truth and to the established government of the Church, it was purposely put forth that primitive Christianity accorded to the bishops of Rome unbounded authority over the Church as a whole.”

XIV.

THE CHURCH OF ROME AND HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THE Church of Rome has made Tradition an authority co-ordinate with and equal to Holy Scripture (see the Decrees of the Council of Trent); and then she has decreed that Scripture shall be interpreted in accordance with Tradition, and has constituted the Church (*i. e.*, since 1870 the Pope) the infallible interpreter of Scripture, the result of which process is to really reduce God's Holy Word to a subordinate and secondary position, so that its teaching counts for little in establishing matters of faith, or in testing dogmatic truth. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the Scriptural argument against the alleged Privilege of Peter and his alleged successors (see pp. 27–31 of my Letter) has not been even alluded to by my critics. Yet it is decisive and unanswerable, and for all who reverence the sacred oracles of God ought to be an end of the Papal Controversy. The following passage from the pen of Cardinal Wiseman affords an instructive illustration of the attitude of the Church of Rome towards the Bible: "The history in every case is simply this: that the individual, by some chance or other . . . happened to become possessed of the Word of God and of the Bible; that he perused this Book, that he could not find in it Transubstan-

tiation; that he could not find in it Auricular Confession; that he could not find in it one word of Purgatory; nothing in it of worshipping images. He perhaps goes to the priest; he tells him that he cannot find these doctrines: his priest argues with him, and endeavors to convince him that he should shut up the Book that is leading him astray: he perseveres; he abandons the Communion of the Church of Rome—that is, as it is commonly expressed, the errors of that Church—and becomes a Protestant. Now in all that the man was a Protestant before he began his enquiry: he started with the principle that whatever is not in that Book is not correct—that is the principle of Protestantism. He took for granted Protestantism, therefore, before he began to examine the (Roman) Catholic Religion. He sets out with the supposition that whatever is not in the Bible is no part of God's truth; he does not find certain things in the Bible; he concludes, therefore, that the religion that holds these is not the true religion of Christ.”*

This is a candid avowal on the part of an eminent prince of the church, and a noted controversialist, that neither Transubstantiation, nor Auricular Confession, nor Purgatory, nor Worshipping of Images is found in the Bible.

I wish now to invite attention very briefly to the inconsistency of the Church of Rome in regard to the use of the Bible in the vernacular tongue by the lay people, using parallel columns to exhibit it more clearly to the eye.

* Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Roman Catholic Church, 1836, p. 12.

Cardinal Gibbons :

"God forbid that any of my readers should be tempted to conclude, from what I have said, that the Catholic Church is opposed to the reading of the Scriptures. . . . If you open an English Catholic Bible you will find in the preface a letter from Pope Pius VI, in which he strongly recommends the pious reading of the Holy Scriptures. A Pope's letter is the most weighty authority in the Church. You will also find in Haydock's Bible the letters of the Bishops of the United States in which they express the hope that this splendid edition would have a wide circulation among their flocks." *The Faith of our Fathers*, pp. 109, 111.

*Index of Prohibited Books,
(approved by Pius IV.)*

"Since it is manifest by experience that, if the Holy Bible in the vulgar tongue be suffered to be read everywhere without distinction, more evil than good arises, let the judgment of the Bishop or inquisitor be abided by in this respect; so that . . . they may grant permission to read translations of the Scriptures, made by Catholic writers, to those whom they understand to be able to receive no harm . . . from such reading. But whosoever shall presume to read these Bibles, or have them in possession without such faculty, *shall not be capable of receiving absolution of their sins, unless they have first given up the Bibles to the Ordinary.*" (Fourth Rule of the Congregation of the Index.)

Clement XI, in the Bull *Unigenitus* (A. D. 1713), condemned as "false" and "blasphemous" the following propositions:

"It is useful and necessary at all times, in all places, and for all kinds of people, to study and learn the spirit, holiness, and mysteries of the Sacred Scripture."

"The reading of Holy Scripture is for all."

"The Lord's Day ought to be hallowed by Christians with pious

reading, and above all, of Holy Scripture. It is dangerous to attempt dissuading Christians from this reading."

"To forbid Christians the reading of Holy Scripture, especially of the Gospel, is to forbid the use of light to the children of light, and make them undergo a kind of excommunication." *

* Quoted by Dr. Littledale, *Plain Reasons*, &c., pp. 90, 91.

XV.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT ON THE TITLE "UNIVERSAL BISHOP."

FOLLOWING are the originals of the passages quoted from this Father in the Open Letter, p. 33 :

"Tu quid Christo universalis ecclesiæ capiti in extremi iudicii dicturus examine, qui cuneta ejus membra tibimet coneris universalis appellatione supponere? Quis, rogo, in hoc tam perverso vocabulo nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur?" (Gregory Ep. iv. 38).

"Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit." (Id. lib. vi. Ep. 30.)

In further elucidation of Pope Gregory the Great's indignant condemnation of this assumption of a universal Episcopate residing in the Bishop of Rome and his successors, I append several other passages, out of many available. He exhausts the vocabulary in his vigorous characterization of the obnoxious phrase, "Universal Bishop." He calls it in one place *nomen erroris*; in another, *stultum ac superbum vocabulum*; in another, *nefandum vocabulum*; in yet another, *scelestum vocabulum*; and, finally, *nomen blasphemice*.

To the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, St. Gregory writes :

"This name *Universal* was offered during the Council of Chalcedon* to the Pontiff of the Apostolic See. . . . But no one of my predecessors ever consented to use so profane a title; because if one is called Universal Patriarch, the name of Patriarchs is taken away from the rest. But far be it from the mind of a Christian to be willing in anywise to seize for himself that whereby he may appear in any degree whatsoever to diminish the honor of his brethren."

"Per Sanctam Chalcedonensam Synodum Pontifici sedis apostolicæ. . . . hoc universitatis nomen oblatum est. Sed nullus umquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit: quia videlicet si unus Patrarcha Universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. Sed absit hoc, absit a Christiani mente id sibi velle quempiam arripere, unde fratrum suorum honorem imminuere ex quantulacumque parte videatur." Gregorii Opera, Tom II. Epist. Lib. v. 43, p. 771. Paris, 1705.

Again, to the Patriarch of Alexandria, he writes:

"You are my brother in rank, my father in character. I did not, therefore, command, but took pains to suggest the things which seemed useful. . . . I said that you were not to write any such thing to me or to any one else; and behold in the very heading of the letter which you addressed to me, the very person who forbade it, you took care to set that haughty title, calling me Universal Bishop (Pope) which I beg your most gracious holiness not to do to me again. . . . For if your holiness calls me the Uni-

"Loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres. Non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi. . . . Dixi, nec mihi vos, nec cuiquam alteri tale aliquid scribere debere; et ecce in præfatione Epistolæ quam ad me ipsum, qui prohibui, direxistis, superbæ appellationis verbum universalem me Papam dicentes, imprimere curastis. Quod peto dulcissima mihi Sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat. . . . Si enim Universalem me Papam vestra Sanctitas dicit, negat se hoc esse quod me fatitur universum. Sed

* Not by the Council itself, nor with its authority, but by certain private individuals. Father Stafford is in error in asserting the contrary.

versal Bishop, you deny that you yourself are that which you confess me to be over the whole world. But far be such a thought."

absit hoc." *Id.* Epist. Liber viii. 30, p. 919.

In yet another letter of his we meet with the following:

"As to that title of superstition and pride, I have studiously admonished him, saying that he could not have peace with us unless he corrected the haughtiness of the forementioned word, which the first apostate invented. You, however, ought not to say that that case is of no consequence, because if we bear this with equanimity we corrupt the faith of the Universal Church. . . . If one bishop is called universal (bishop) the whole church crumbles in ruin; if one (bishop) falls the whole (Episcopate) falls; but far from us be this folly, far from my ears be this levity."

De eodem superstitioso et superbo vocabulo cum admonere studui, dicens, quia pacem nobiscum habere non posset, nisi elationem prædicti verbi corrigeret, quam primus apostata invenit. Vos tamen eandem causam, nullam esse dicere non debetis; quia si hanc æquanimiter portamus, Universæ Ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus. . . . Si unus Episcopus vocatur Universalis Universæ ecclesia corrui; si unus universus cadit sed absit hæc stultitia, absit hæc levitas ab auribus meis. Lib. vii, Ep. 27, p. 873.

Writing to the Emperor Maurice, St. Gregory thus speaks of St. Peter:

"He is not called Universal Apostle, yet this most holy man, my colleague in the priesthood, John [of Constantinople] aspires to the title Universal Bishop. I am compelled to cry out and say, *O tempora, O mores!* . . . Far from Christian hearts be that name of blasphemy, by which

"Universalis Apostolus non vocatur, et vir sanctissimus sacerdos meus Johannes vocari universalis Episcopus conatur. Exclamare compellor ac dicere, *O tempora, O mores!* . . . Absit a cordibus Christianis nomen istud blasphemiae, in quo omnium Sacerdotum honor adimitur, dum

the honor of the whole priesthood is compromised while it is ab uno sibi dementèr arrogatur." *Id.* v. 20, pp. 748, 749.
insanely arrogated to himself by one."

Surely it is a lame and impotent explanation of the vehement and unqualified condemnation of the title Universal Bishop by Gregory, to say, as one of my critics does, that it was "because it was offensive, and it was offensive because it was high sounding, and had been assumed by the Eastern patriarch out of human pride, and in a sense injurious to other Bishops."

Gregory condemned the very thing which was subsequently consummated by Hildebrand and which is maintained and practised by the Pope to day, *the subjection of other Bishops to the Bishop of Rome.*

The following passage from another letter of this great and humble-minded Pope still further declares his mind upon this subject, making it incontrovertibly clear that his objection to the title "Universal Bishop" antedated the effort of John of Constantinople to arrogate it to himself, and lay against the title in itself, and not merely in its accidental association with the ambition of that Patriarch. Had Gregory held the modern Roman doctrine of the sovereignty of the Papacy, he would have replied (just as most certainly Pope Leo XIII would reply to the Archbishop of Baltimore if he were to assume that title), that he, Gregory, Bishop of Rome, was the Universal Bishop, and that John was a rebel and a usurper in daring to assume it.

"It is true that for the honor of the blessed Prince of the Apostles (this title) was offered, during the venerable Council of Chalcedon, to the Roman Pontiff. But none of those (pontiffs) ever consented to use this unique title, lest,—while something exclusive were given to one, all should be deprived of the due honor of the priesthood. What is this then—we do not want the glory of this title even when offered, yet another presumes to seize it though it is not offered!"

Certe pro beati Apostolorum principis honore, per venerandam Chalcedonensem Synodum Romanum Pontifice oblatum est. Sed nullus eorum umquam hoc singularitas nomine uti consensit, ne dum privatum aliquid daretur uni, honore debito sacerdotis privarentur universi. Quid est ergo, quod nos hujus vocabuli gloriam et oblatam non quærimus, et alter sibi hanc arripere et non oblatam præsumit. Id. Lib. v. 20, p. 749.

XVI.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

A LEARNED Anglican writer remarks upon the fact that in the opinion of some present-day Roman theologians the Pope has never but *once* spoken "with the formalities necessary to make his utterance *ex cathedrâ* and infallibly binding, and that was when Pius IX, on Dec. 8, 1854, decreed the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary." In the Open Letter to Pope Leo it is stated that this doctrine "is explicitly or implicitly denied by several of the greatest of the Fathers, as St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and by the greatest of Roman Catholic divines, St. Thos. Aquinas, as well as by several of the Popes themselves."

I proceed to justify this statement by quotations from the writers named :

St. Augustine.

"Etenim, ut celerius dicam, Maria ex Adam, mortua propter peccatum, (Adam mortuus propter peccatum) et Caro Domini ex Maria mortua est propter delenda peccata." Sermo Secundus. De reliqua parte Psalm. xxxiv. 3.

"For, to sum up in a word, Mary, sprung from Adam, died because of sin, (Adam died because of sin,) and the flesh of our Lord sprung from Mary died in order to blot out sin."

And the following, quoted by Archdeacon Sinclair :

"He alone being man, but remaining God, never had any sin, nor did he take on Him a flesh of sin, though from *the flesh of sin of His Mother*. For what flesh He thence took, He either, when taken, im-

mediately purified, or purified in the act of taking it." (Bened. Ed. Paris 1630—p. 61.)

St. Bernard (A. D. 1140) blames the Canons of Lyons for the innovation of celebrating the feast of the Conception, then denies that it should be held, because "the Conception was not holy, like the Nativity."

"I greatly marvel that . . . some of you should have thought good to change this excellent hue, by introducing a new festival which the ritual of the Church knows not of, reason approves not, ancient tradition recommends not. Are we more learned or more devout than the Fathers? . . . The royal virgin needeth not false honour. . . . Beyond all doubt, the mother of the Lord, too, was holy before she was born. . . . What should we think is to be added yet to these honours? They say 'that the conception, which went before the honoured birth, should be honoured, because had not that preceded, this which is honoured had not been.' What if another for the same reason should assert that festive honours should be paid to both her parents also?" Ep. 174, ad Canon. Lugd. Opp. 1, 169, seq. Quoted by Dr. Pusey, 1st Letter to Dr. Newman, pp. 171, 174.

St. Thomas Aquinas.

The following passages sufficiently exhibit his doctrine on this subject:

Summa, Part III. Quæes. XVI. Art. III. Ad primam ergo dicendum, quod Caro Virginis concepta fuit in originali peccato: et ideo hos defectus contraxit. Sed Caro Christi naturam ex virgine assumpsit absque culpa.

Id. Quæstio XXVII. Art. I. Utrum beata virgo, mater Dei, fuerit sanctificata ante nativitatem ex utero. . . .

"As to the first, then, it is to be said that the flesh of the Virgin was conceived in original sin, and therefore it contracted these defects. But the flesh of Christ took its nature from the Virgin without fault."

"Whether the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, was sanctified before her birth from the womb.

Ad tertium dicendum, quod beata virgo sanctificata in utero a peccato originali, quantum at maculam personalem, non tamen fuit liberata a reatu quo tota natura tenebatur obnoxia, ut scilicet non intraret in Paradisum nisi per Christi ostium.

“As to the third it is to be said that the Blessed Virgin sanctified in the womb from original sin, as to personal taint, was nevertheless not delivered from the guilt whereby all nature was held attainted, so that, indeed, she did not enter into Paradise save through the gate of Christ.”

(He compares the cases of Jeremiah and John Baptist as parallel.)

Id. Art. IV. “In beata virgine post sanctificationem in utero, remansit quidem fomes peccati, sed ligatus ni scilicet prorumpet in aliquem motum inordinatum.”

“In the blessed virgin after sanctification in the womb, there remained a certain kindling material of sin, but restrained from breaking forth into any inordinate motion.”

Cardinal de Turrecremata, a famous theologian, having been appointed by the Council of Basle to investigate the history of this doctrine, made report as follows :

“Behold, O Sacred Synod, 100 witnesses, who, being most profound Doctors in Divine and Canon Law, or very learned Fathers, give a most clear testimony . . . that the most blessed Virgin was in her conception subject to original sin.” Pusey, Letter I to Dr. Newman, p. 72.

TESTIMONY OF THE POPES.

Of the 14 Popes who are said to have pronounced against the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, I quote the following from Dr. Pusey :

Pope Leo I. Sermon 5 de Nat. Dom. C. 5, p. 86. “Alone then among the sons of men the Lord Jesus was born innocent, because He alone was born without the pollution of carnal concupiscence.”

Pope Gelasius, against Pelagius, says: "No one is clean from defilement." p. 130.

Gregory the Great: "He alone was born truly holy who . . . was not conceived by the commixture of carnal intercourse." p. 142.

Pope Innocent III says: "Mary was produced in sin, but she brought forth without sin." Sermon 2 "De Festo Assump. Mariæ," Colon., 1552 (quoted by Archdeacon Sinclair).

In the light of these passages it is impossible to avoid the dilemma of rejecting either the creed of Pius IV (which binds every Catholic never to take or interpret the Scriptures "otherwise than according to the *unanimous consent* of the Fathers") or the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

With Pope Leo, Pope Gelasius, Pope Gregory the Great, and Pope Innocent III denying this doctrine, and Pope Pius IX affirming and defining it as an article of faith—it must be hard for the adherent of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility to know what to believe. When Infallibility is arrayed against Infallibility, who shall be the arbiter?

It may be interesting to compare the opinion recently expressed by some of the highest representatives of the Greek Church upon this subject, in their reply to the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Reunion. Art. XIII of that document (already quoted) reads as follows:

"The one Holy Catholic and Apostolical Church of the Seven Ecumenical Councils has laid down the dogma of the supernatural, pure and immaculate incarnation of the only begotten Son and Word of God alone, by the Holy Ghost and through the Virgin Mary. But the papal church has again introduced an innovation, scarcely forty

years ago, having propounded the novel dogma of the immaculate conception of the Theotokos and ever-virgin Mary—a dogma entirely unknown to the Ancient Church, and strenuously combated, in former times, by the most eminent of papal theologians.”*

*Reply of the Holy Catholic and Orthodox Church of the East to the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Reunion. London: John & E. Bumpus. Oxford St.

"HISTORY CANNOT BE MADE OVER AGAIN. IT IS THERE, AND WILL REMAIN, TO ALL ETERNITY, TO PROTEST ENERGETICALLY AGAINST THE DOGMA OF THE PAPAL INFALLIBILITY."—Bp. STROSSMAYER.

"DEUS SOLUS EST INFALLIBILIS."—ABP. KENRICK.

XVII.

THE DOGMA OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

It is well known that the adoption of this dogma by the Vatican Council was strenuously opposed by many of the most illustrious and learned Prelates and Scholars of the Roman Communion, among others by the following: DARBOY, Archbishop of Paris (afterwards martyred in the Commune); DUPANLOUP, Bishop of Orleans; RAUSCHER, Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna; SCHWARTZENBERG, Cardinal Archbishop of Prague; SCHERR, Archbishop of Munich; HEFELE, Bishop of Rottenburg; STROSSMAYER, Bishop of Bosnia; MACHALE, Archbishop of Tuam; CONOLLY, Archbishop of Halifax; KENRICK, Archbishop of St. Louis; DÖLLINGER, the eminent historian and theologian, and JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

But no weight of learning or eloquence, or character could avail against the determination of the Jesuits, that "aggressive and insolent faction," as Newman called them, to force the dogma upon the church. The Council which proclaimed it was in no sense œcumenical. It was, in the first place, a Council of the ROMAN Communion alone; and it was not truly representative even of that section of the Church Catholic, for the Council was packed with Italians

and others whose votes could be depended on. Italy had 276 delegates, while France, with a much larger Catholic population, had only 84, Germany 19, and the United States 48.

Neither was the Vatican Council free. Liberal Catholics severely censured this feature. "More than one hundred Prelates of all nations signed a protest (dated Rome, March 1, 1870) against the order of business, especially against the mere majority vote, and expressed the fear that in the end the authority of this Council might be impaired as wanting in truth and liberty."*

The Decree of Papal Infallibility was passed on the 18th July, 1870. It is as follows :

"Itque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianæ exordio perceptæ fideliter inhærendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicæ exaltationem et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse declaramus : ROMANUM PONTIFICEM, CUM EX CATHEDRA LOQUITUR, IDEST, CUM OMNIUM CHRISTIANORUM PASTORIS ET DOCTORIS MUNERE FUNGENS PRO SUPREMA SUA APOSTOLICA AUCTORITATE DOCTRINAM DE FIDE VEL MORIBUS AB UNIVERSA ECCLESIA TENENDAM DEFINIT, PER ASSISTENTIAM DIVINAM, IPSI IN BEATO PETRO PROMISSAM, EA INFALLIBILITATE POLLERE, QUA DIVINUS REDEMPTOR ECCLESIAM SUAM IN DEFINIENDA DOCTRINA DE FIDE VEL MORIBUS INSTRUCTAM ESSE VOLUIT ; IDEOQUE EJUSMODI ROMANI PONTIFICIS DEFINITIONES EX SESE, NON AUTEM EX CONSENSU ECCLESIAE, IRREFORMABILES ESSE.

"Si quis autem huic Nostræ definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, præsumperit; anathema sit."†

* See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. 1, p. 144.

† *Id.*, p. 151.

It is thus translated :

“Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian Faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed : that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, by the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter,—is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals ; and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irrefragable of themselves and not from the consent of the Church. But if any one—which, may God avert—presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.”

Now, when this dogma is brought to the impartial bar of History, it completely breaks down. No wonder that John Henry Newman was so sad at heart in the anticipation of its promulgation. He wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, “I look with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my own private judgment, but may be *most difficult to maintain logically in the face of historical facts.*” “Think,” he continues, “of the store of pontifical scandals in the his-

tory of eighteen centuries, which have partly been poured forth, and partly are still to come. . . . If it is God's will that the Pope's infallibility be defined, then is it God's will to throw back the times and moments of that triumph which He has destined for His Kingdom, and I shall feel I have but to bow my head to his adorable, inscrutable Providence." (Five years later Dr. Newman retracted this (confidential) letter.)

What History has to say to this new dogma has been already intimated on a preceding page. In truth the whole weight of the preceding argument of this little volume bears conclusively against the truth of this novel dogma. The Œcumenical Councils, the Ancient Fathers, and many of the Popes themselves, as well as the Holy Scriptures, stand forth as incorruptible witnesses against it. It has none of the three notes of Catholicity,—neither the *semper*, nor the *ubique* nor the *ab omnibus*. The Canon Law of the Middle Ages, while placing the Pope above all secular tribunals, yet laid down that he could be judged and deposed for heresy (*deprehendatur a fide devius*). Even Innocent III, (13th Century,) spite of his boundless claims to secular and spiritual power, acknowledged that he might sin against the Faith and become subject to the judgment of the Church. Innocent IV expressed himself in the same sense. Of Boniface VIII (14th Century) it was said that he had a devil, because he declared that every creature must obey the Pope on pain of eternal damnation. And Hadrian VI, before he became Pope, said that it was certain the Pope could err even in matters of faith.

As to concrete examples of the fallibility of the Pope, even when speaking *ex cathedrâ*, scholars, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, have supplied us with enough to convince any one whose mind is not closed against conviction.

Two Popes of the 3d Century, Zephyrinus and Callistus, were guilty of heresy in relation to the person of our Lord, according to the testimony of Hippolytus, saint and martyr.*

Pope Liberius (A. D. 358) (whose case has been referred to above) subscribed an Arian Creed and condemned Athanasius, the great champion of the Divinity of Christ.

Pope Zosimus gave the stamp of orthodoxy to the Pelagian heresy, but afterwards, under pressure from St. Augustine, reversed his decision.

Pope Vigilius, (538-555,) having been repudiated by the 5th Œcumenical Council, made his submission to the Council and confessed that he had been the tool of Satan.

Pope Honorius I (625-638) taught *ex cathedrâ* the Monothelite heresy, and was excommunicated as a heretic by an Œcumenical Council—universally acknowledged both in the East and in the West—which assembled in Constantinople in 680. Their anathema was repeated by the 7th and 8th Œcumenical Councils. And finally the succeeding Popes for 300 years pronounced “an eternal anathema” on Pope Honorius, thus recognizing both the

* See the Search-Light of St. Hippolytus, Revell & Co., 1896, for vindication of the authenticity of his works.

justice of his condemnation and also the principle that a general Council may condemn a Pope for heresy.*

All attempts to escape the iron grasp of the facts of History in this crucial instance of the breakdown of the theory of Papal Infallibility have failed conspicuously.

It seemed to many devout children of the Church an evil omen that "the Episcopal votes and the Papal proclamation of the new dogma were accompanied by flashes of lightning and claps of thunder from the skies, and so great was the darkness which spread over the Church of St. Peter, that the Pope could not read the decree of his own Infallibility without the artificial light of a candle." There was an apprehension of calamities impending over the Papacy. "And behold the day after the proclamation of the dogma, Napoleon III, the political ally and supporter of Pius IX, unchained the furies of war, which, in a few weeks, swept away the Empire of France and the temporal throne of the infallible Pope. His own subjects forsook him and almost unanimously voted for a new sovereign, whom he had excommunicated as the worst enemy of the Church. A German Empire arose from victorious battlefields, and Protestantism sprung to the political and military leadership of Europe. About half a dozen Protestant Churches have since been organized in Rome, where none was tolerated before, except outside the walls or in the house of some foreign ambassador; a branch of the Bible Society was established, which the Pope, in his

* See Schaff, *Creeeds of Christendom*, vol. 1, pp. 176-179

Syllabus, denounces as a pest, and a public debate was held in which even the presence of Peter in Rome was called in question. History records no more striking example of swift retribution of criminal ambition.”*

I invite attention to the following passage from the speech of the eloquent Bishop Strossmayer delivered in the Council in opposition to the dogma of Infallibility :

“ Monsignor Dupanloup in his celebrated Observations, on this Council of the Vatican, has said and with reason, that if we declare Pius IX infallible, we must necessarily, and from natural logic, be obliged to hold that all his predecessors were also infallible. Well, then! venerable brethren, here History raises its voice with authority, to assure us that some Popes have erred. You may protest against it, or deny it as you please, but I will prove it.

“ Pope Victor (192) first approved of Montanism, and then condemned it.

“ Marcellinus (296-303) was an idolator. He entered into the temple of Vesta, and offered incense to the goddess. You will say that it was an act of weakness ; but I answer, a vicar of Jesus Christ dies, but does not become an apostate.

“ Liberius (358) consented to the condemnation of St. Athanasius, and made a profession of Arianism, that he might be recalled from his exile, and reinstated in his See.

“ Honorius (625) adhered to Monothelitism : Father Gratry has proved it to demonstration.

“ Gregory I (578-590) calls any one Anti-Christ who takes the name of Universal Bishop ; and contrariwise, Boniface 3d (607-608) made the parricide Emperor Phocas confer that title upon him.

“ Pascal II (1088-1099) and Eugenius III (1145-1153) authorized duelling ; Julius II (1509) and Pius 4th (1560) forbade it. Eugenius 4th (1431-1439) approved the Council of Basle, and the restitution of the chalice to the church of Bohemia. Pius II (1458) revoked the concession. Hadrian II declared civil marriages to be valid ; Pius

**Id.*, pp. 159-160.

7th (1800-1823) condemned them. Sixtus 5th (1585-1595) published an edition of the Bible, and by a Bull, recommended it to be read. Pius 7th condemned the reading of it. Clement 14th (1700-1721) abolished the order of the Jesuits, permitted by Paul III. Pius 7th re-established it. . . .

“Now, do not deceive yourselves. If you decree the dogma of Papal Infallibility, the Protestants our adversaries, will mount in the breach, the more bold, that they have history on their side, whilst we have only our own denial against them. What can we say to them, when they show up all the Bishops of Rome from the days of Linus to his Holiness, Pius IX ?

“Ah ! if they had all been Pius IX, we should triumph on the whole line ; but, alas ! it is not so. (Cries of silence, silence ; enough, enough.) Do not cry out, Monsignori ! To fear history is to own yourself conquered ; and moreover, if you made the whole of the waters of the Tiber to pass over it, you would not cancel a single page. Let me speak and I will be as short as is possible on this most important subject. . . .

“You know the history of Formosus, too well for me to add to it. Stephen XI made his body be exhumed, dressed in his Pontifical robes ; he made the fingers which he used for giving the benediction, be cut off, and then had him thrown into the Tiber, declaring him to be a perjurer and illegitimate. He was then imprisoned by the people, poisoned and strangled. But look how matters were readjusted.

“Romanus, successor of Stephen, and after him, John X, rehabilitated the memory of Formosus.

“But you will tell me these are fables, not history. Fables ! go, Monsignori, to the Vatican library, and read Platina, the historian of the Papacy, and the annals of Baronius, (A. D. 897.) These are facts, which for the honor of the Holy See, we should wish to ignore ; but when it is proposed to define a dogma, which may provoke a great schism in our midst, the love which we bear to our venerable Mother Church—Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman—ought it to impose silence on us ? I go on.

“The learned Cardinal Baronius, speaking of the Papal Court, says (give attention, my venerable brethren, to these words) : ‘What did the Roman Church appear in those days—how infamous ! Only all-powerful courtezans governing in Rome ! It was they who gave, exchanged, and took Bishoprics ; and, horrible to relate, they got their

lovers, the false Popes, put on the throne of St. Peter. . . . I can understand how the illustrious Baronius must have blushed when he narrated the acts of these Roman Bishops. Speaking of John XI, natural son of Pope Sergius and of Morozia, he wrote these words in his Annals, 'The Holy Church, that is the Roman, has been vilely trampled on by such a monster. John XII, (956,) elected Pope at the age of 18, through the influence of courtezans, was not one bit better than his predecessor.'

"I grieve, my venerable brethren, to stir up so much filth. I am silent on Alexander VI, father and lover of Lucretia. I turn away from John XXII, (1316,) who denied the immortality of the soul, and was deposed by the holy Œcumenical Council of Constance.

"Some will maintain that this Council was only a private one. Let it be so; but if you refuse any authority to it, as a logical sequence you must hold the nomination of Martin V (1417) as illegal. What then will become of the Papal succession? Can you find the thread of it?

"I do not speak of the schisms which have dishonored the Church. In these unfortunate days the See of Rome was occupied by two and sometimes even by three competitors. Which of these was the true Pope?

"Resuming once more, again I say, if you decree the infallibility of the present Bishop of Rome, you must establish infallibility of all the preceding ones, without excluding any. But can you do that when history is there establishing, with a clearness equal to that only of the sun, that the Popes have erred in their teaching? Could you do it, and maintain that avaricious, incestuous, murdering, simoniacal Popes have been Vicars of Jesus Christ? Oh! venerable brethren, to maintain such an enormity would be to betray Christ worse than Judas; it would be to throw dirt in the face of Christ. (Cries of 'Down from the pulpit—quick, shut the mouth of the heretic.') My venerable brethren, you cry out; but will it not be more dignified to weigh my reasons and my proofs in the balances of the sanctuary? Believe me, history cannot be made over again; it is there, and will remain to all eternity, to protest energetically against the dogma of Papal Infallibility."

XVIII.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY AN *IGNIS FATUUS*.

IT has been pointed out in the "OPEN LETTER" (p. 36) that the dogma of Infallibility holds out delusive hopes to those who submit to it in the expectation of thereby securing absolute certainty of religious belief. In illustration of this statement, reference has been made to the difference of opinion among even learned Roman Catholics as to the *extent* of the Pope's Infallibility. Previous to 1870 no man could tell where the vaunted gift of Infallibility resided. "It resides in the Pope," said some of their divines. "No, not in the Pope," said others, "but in the Church at large (a diffusive power or virtue)." "By no means," exclaimed a third party, "it belongs to General Councils without the Pope." "You are all wrong," said a fourth School; "infallibility resides in a General Council, with the Pope at its head."

But now since the Vatican Council has spoken, the uncertainty is at an end, and it must be confessed by every good Catholic that the Pope is personally infallible when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*. Is there, then, peace at last,—and unanimity,—after so many centuries of conflict, upon the very first question of their whole system? Alas, no! for the question now is, *When* does the Pope speak *ex cathedrâ*? Who is to decide? And until such decision is au-

thoritatively given, how can we be sure that we have really grasped the certainty that is built upon Infallibility?

For example, let us suppose a devout Roman Catholic takes up for perusal the famous Syllabus of Pius IX (1864). This document contains a catalogue of eighty errors of the age which are formally condemned by Pius IX. Is this, then, an *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement and therefore infallible? Cardinal Manning (as pointed out in the Open Letter) stoutly affirms that it is part of "the infallible teaching" of the Pope; but Cardinal Newman supports the contrary opinion. Which is right? Who is to decide? Each man for himself? Then, indeed, Infallibility rests upon *private judgment*—which good Roman Catholics have thrown away as a broken reed. Or is each man's Confessor to decide for him? In that case, Infallibility rests still upon private judgment—that of a priest instead of a layman.

Meanwhile what grave issues are left suspended in mid-air for the devout son of Mother Church. If Manning was right, then religious and civil liberty—which American prelates never tire of applauding on public occasions—is a detestable error which, as a good Roman Catholic, he is bound to reject and abhor. If Newman was right, then he may say Amen to the panegyrics just alluded to with a good conscience. If Manning was right, then the separation of Church and State has been condemned by Infallible authority, and the absolute independence of the Roman hierarchy of all civil government infallibly asserted. If Manning was

right, then our devout Roman Catholic may not be hopeful concerning the eternal salvation of his non-Roman-Catholic friends, on pain of resisting the decision of the Infallible Papal Tribunal. In short, the old uncertainty as to *where* Infallibility reposed has simply given place to uncertainty in a new form: *when* is this Infallible voice heard? And how may it be recognized? On this question certainty is unattainable—and the Roman Catholic is no better off than his poor (!) Protestant neighbor, who builds his faith on the Infallible voice that speaks in Holy Scripture.

In one of the popular controversial works upon which Roman Catholics greatly rely, ("The Faith of our Fathers," by Cardinal Gibbons,) the following argument is employed, and the poor Protestant is shown that his "Infallible Bible" is of no use whatever without an infallible interpreter. I will place in a parallel column the Cardinal's argument turned against his own doctrine:

THE CARDINAL TO THE PROTESTANT:

"Let us see, sir, whether an infallible Bible is sufficient for you. Either you are infallibly certain that your interpretation of that Bible is correct, or you are not.

"If you are infallibly certain, then you assert for yourself, and, of course, for every reader of the Scripture, a personal in-

THE PROTESTANT TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC:

"Let us see, my friend, whether an Infallible Pope is sufficient for you. Either you are infallibly certain that your interpretation of the meaning and extent of the dogma of infallibility is correct, or you are not.

"If you are infallibly certain, then you assert for yourself, and of course, for every Roman Catholic, a personal infallibility. You

fallibility which you deny to the Pope, and which we claim only for him. You make every man his own Pope.

“If you are not infallibly certain that you understand the true meaning of the whole Bible—and this is a privilege you do not claim—then I ask, of what use to you is the objective infallibility of the Bible, without an infallible Interpreter? (p. 155.)

make every Roman Catholic his own Pope.

“If you are not infallibly certain that you understand the scope and meaning of the dogma of infallibility—and how can you make such a claim, when the great scholars and princes of the Church differ about it so widely—then, I ask, of what use to you is the dogma of infallibility without an infallible Interpreter of its scope and intent?”

The logical dilemma is a dangerous bull, for he will sometimes turn and gore his own master!

Take another case. Suppose a devout and obedient member of the Roman Communion desirous of knowing whether the principles of liberty as embodied in that famous instrument, the *Magna Charta*, are in harmony with his faith and with his church. He hears on every hand in America words of approval and praise for free institutions, and naturally concludes that his church is in sympathy with popular liberty as embodied in the great English and American political instruments. But suppose he chances to read the history of the reign of King John, and so learns that Pope Innocent III sent his commissioners to England to declare the *MAGNA CHARTA* null and void and to restrain King John from giving it effect. Suppose he reads farther and finds that when Stephen Langton, the then Archbishop

of Canterbury, refused to execute this Bull, and stood forth as the champion of the rights and liberties of the people of England against the despotism of King John, the Pope suspended him from his archiepiscopal office, and drove him into exile.

Or, suppose a mother loses her infant child. It has been baptized and therefore perhaps she feels confident of its salvation, but some one calls her attention to the positive, dogmatic, deliverance of Pope Innocent I and Pope Gelasius I in the 5th Century, declaring that infants dying without receiving the Holy Communion are undoubtedly damned. True, the Council of Trent, with a Pope at its head, (A. D. 1564,) condemned and anathematized this monstrous doctrine: but how is she, poor woman, to tell which was the true definition? Both were Papal, and therefore both infallible, though contradictory.

Or suppose the question be about valid Baptism. A dying child has been baptized by a woman, but in the name of Christ alone. Was that sufficient? Pope Nicholas, in the ninth century, gave his decision that such a Baptism is valid; but Pope Pelagius, in the sixth century, had decided that no Baptism was valid unless administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Or one has a dear friend, or a beloved relative, who is a Protestant. May he hope for the final salvation of such an one? He will get contradictory answers from different priests, and in different countries. Often in America he

will be encouraged to hope for it, but it has not been long since an eminent ecclesiastic publicly asserted the contrary. And one of the Popes (Boniface VIII), whose decision must have been infallible, declared, *ex cathedrâ*, that "for every human creature it is altogether necessary to salvation to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

Or the question pertains to marriage.—Is the marriage tie broken, if one of the two (husband or wife) becomes a pervert to heresy? Pope Celestine III pronounced the marriage tie broken in such a case. Subsequent Popes have given contrary decisions. Which is the true?

Or a man wishes to know whether he may fight a duel? It was authorized by Pope Pascal II and Pope Eugenius III. Is it therefore right? Or must he obey the decisions of subsequent Popes, who have forbidden it?

What an *ignis fatuus*, then, is this dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope, and how vain is the hope that, in submitting to it, men secure absolute certainty of belief! No sooner had it been promulgated, than the line of cleavage began to develop between the "maximizers" like Ward and Manning, and the "minimizers" like John Henry Newman. This same wide difference of interpretation prevails in the Roman Communion in regard to various doctrines and practices of their faith.

Take one example out of many, the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin. Here, verily, we have the *maximizers* and the *minimizers*—those who make a goddess of the Virgin, and give her the worship which is due to God alone, and those

who only honor her, and ask her intercession, but do not worship her. The apologists of the Church of Rome are usually found among the "minimizers." Their controversial works reduce this *cultus* to the minimum, and indignantly deny that any good Roman Catholic ever pays Divine honours to the Blessed Virgin. That, they say, is a Protestant invention, or misrepresentation. They give *douleia* to the Virgin, not *latreia*.

But let a candid observer take note of the *popular religion* in Mexico, in South America, in Ireland, in Spain, and on the Continent generally (especially among the peasantry), and he will find it hard to resist the conclusion that the Blessed Virgin is worshipped with *latreia* as God is worshipped, and that her worship has largely taken the place of the worship of Christ.

But let us turn from the ignorant and superstitious multitude, who, it may be said, pervert and misapply the Church's doctrine, and let us consult the Doctors of theology. In a work entitled "Protestantism and Infidelity," by Francis Xavier Weninger, D. D., "Missionary of the Society of Jesus," I find the following example of the doctrine of the *minimizers*. I place in a parallel column that of the *maximizers*.

THE TEACHING OF THE MINIMIZERS.

"Protestant misrepresentation is particularly directed against our veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. You have been taught that we adore her. It is an unfounded

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MAXIMIZERS.

"Heart of Mary, Mother of God, . . . worthy of all the veneration of angels and men, . . . Be thou our help in need, our comfort in trouble, our strength in temptation . . . our aid in all

calumny like the rest. Our doctrine is to-day what it was in the beginning of Christianity, and has been in all ages since. We teach to-day what St. Epiphanius taught in opposition to the heretics of the Fourth Century, 'We honor Mary; but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost alone we adore.'

dangers. . . . Leave me not, my Mother, in my own hands, or I am lost. Let me but cling to thee. Save me, my Hope; save me from Hell."*

"I adore you, Eternal Father; I adore you, Eternal Son; I adore you, Most Holy Spirit; I adore you, Most Holy Virgin, Queen of the Heavens, Lady and Mistress of the Universe."†

"We have made a goddess of the Blessed Virgin."‡

She is "the complement of the Whole Trinity."§

"Notre-Dame de Chartres, notre secours pendant la vie et à l'heure de notre mort." *Litanies de Notre-Dame de Chartres*(1885).

As regards the hollowness of the alleged unity and harmony of the Roman Communion, no better illustration could be given than is found in the picture of the life of the Roman hierarchy in England, so vividly drawn by Father Purcell in his life of Cardinal Manning. It is a tissue of controversies and jealousies, of mining and countermining, between the different parties in the Roman Communion. The members of the hierarchy are seen in continual conflict and intrigue. They agree neither in opinions nor in policies,—

* From the "Raccolta," a collection of Prayers indulgenced by the Pope.

† From a Prayer published under license at Rome in 1825.

‡ Bp. Strossmayer, speech in the Vatican Council.

§ Salazar.

and first one, then another, of the Bishops hies him to Rome, hoping to undermine the influence and credit of his brother prelate with the Holy Father. It is a mournful spectacle of the absence of "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Father Purcell remarks that "second only to his belief in the Infallibility of the Pope . . . was Manning's belief in the duty of *keeping up at every hazard the appearance of unity of opinion among Catholics.*" But the intestine strife could not be wholly concealed, and this remarkable book has drawn aside the veil and shown us the bitterness and divisions and mutual distrust that prevail in the Roman Communion. In a letter to Mgr. Talbot, Manning wrote, in 1860, "Thank God the Protestants do not know that half our time and strength is wasted in contests *interdomesticos fidei.*" (Life, p. 101.) So bitter was the strife that Manning and his friend did not hesitate, in their confidential correspondence, to speak of the great Newman as "the most dangerous man in England," and to express alarm at the danger of "an English Catholicism." Cardinal Manning felt himself and his party of Ultramontanes far more widely separated from Newman and his "English Catholics" than these latter were from Dr. Pusey. "Between us and them," he writes to his confidential friend, Talbot, "there is a far greater distance than between them and Dr. Pusey's book."

This story of division and conflict finds its counterpart in the annals of the Roman Church in the United States a generation later. The secret history of the inter-

necine strife which is still going on in the bosom of the Roman Catholic Communion in America has not yet been revealed ; but enough has transpired from time to time, as for example in connection with the recent removal of the accomplished Rector of their University at Washington, Dr. Keane, to show that the old feud between the Ultramontanes and the Liberals is not healed.

So vain is the boast of unity of Spirit and identity of belief among Roman Catholics. Behind the veil they are as far from unity, and from oneness of doctrine, as their Protestant fellow-Christians. The Vatican decree has not secured solidarity of belief or of policy.

XIX.

CONCLUSION.


THE task which I set myself in the preparation of this little volume is done. The Venerable Pontiff in his Encyclical appealed to History,—sacred and ecclesiastical,—in support of the tremendous claims which, as Infallible Pope, he makes upon the whole Christian world. We have willingly taken the great controversy before that august tribunal; and we have obtained a verdict against the vast pretensions of the Papacy. Inspired History pronounces against them. The History of the early Councils of the Catholic Church pronounces against them. The History of the ancient Fathers (their lives and their writings) pronounces against them. “History cannot be made over again. It is there, and will remain to all eternity, to protest energetically against the dogma of Papal Infallibility.”

It only remains to add in conclusion that no word in the preceding pages has been penned in bitterness or in uncharitableness. We respect the sincerity of our Roman Catholic brethren, we acknowledge the piety and devotion that shine in the lives of great numbers of them. We recognize the vast services they are rendering to mankind in many ways; and we fervently wish that we might be co-laborers for the Kingdom of God and of righteousness

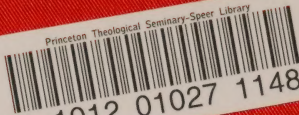
rather than antagonists—fellow-soldiers under the banner of the Cross against ungodliness, infidelity, and vice in this great Republic, rather than opponents.

But when an ecclesiastical absolutism like the Papacy is set up, and we are called upon to surrender our liberties and our rights in the Kingdom of God, and to repudiate the heritage of Apostolic truth and order which we have received from our fathers and which came to them as an heirloom from primitive antiquity, our loyalty to the King of Kings demands that we should expose the hollowness of these pretensions in the impartial light of History, and unveil the absurdities, the inconsistencies, and the self-contradictions which are inseparably bound up with the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and Papal Dominion over the faith of the Church. It is in this spirit, and under this high sense of duty to the Great Head of the Church, that I have written. At His feet I lay the fruit of my labor, and pray that He may accept the offering and use it for the enlightenment of His children.

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